

JPRS 74417

22 October 1979

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1727



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author; if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		1. REPORT NO. JPRS 74417	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																		
4. Title and Subtitle EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1727			5. Report Date 22 October 1979																			
7. Author(s)			6.																			
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.																			
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.																			
			11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)																			
			13. Type of Report & Period Covered																			
			14.																			
15. Supplementary Notes																						
16. Abstract (Limit 200 words) This serial report contains information on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																						
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors <table border="0"> <tr> <td>International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td>x Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td>x Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td>x German Democratic Republic</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>x Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>x Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>x Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>x Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>					International Affairs	Propaganda	Albania	Political Science	x Bulgaria	Sociology	x Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	x German Democratic Republic		x Hungary		x Poland		x Romania		x Yugoslavia	
International Affairs	Propaganda																					
Albania	Political Science																					
x Bulgaria	Sociology																					
x Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations																					
x German Democratic Republic																						
x Hungary																						
x Poland																						
x Romania																						
x Yugoslavia																						
b. Identifiers/Open Ended Terms																						
c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15																						
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161			19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 82																		
			20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price																		

22 October 1979

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1727

CONTENTS	PAGE
BULGARIA	
Western Manipulations in Africa Analyzed (Lyubomir Bozhilov; NOVO VREME, Aug 79).....	1
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
CPCZ Control Commission Should Assume More Responsibility (Milan Razus; ZIVOT STRANY, 13 Aug 79).....	18
CPCZ Section Director on Exchange of Party Cards (Vaclav Vancata Interview; ZIVOT STRANY, 27 Aug 79)....	24
CSR Secondary Schools Start Educational Experiment (Olga Spetova; UCITELSKÉ NOVINY, 30 Aug 79).....	29
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
West German Reportage on GDR Protestant Synod (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, various dates).....	34
Prospects for Unification Plans Criticism by Protestant Churches Continuation of Discrimination by State	
Pilot Emergency Parachute Training Described (Ernst Gebauer; ARMEERUNDschau, Sep 79).....	39

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

HUNGARY

Official Affirms Common Ground With European Communists (Janos Berecz; TARSADALMI SZEMLE, Sep 79).....	42
Survival at all Costs Goal of Students, Teachers (IFJUSAGI MAGAZIN, Sep 79).....	55

POLAND

'Convergence' of U.S., PRC Interests Discussed (PAP, 5 Oct 79).....	59
Briefs	
Pope, UN Employee	60
Ambassador Meets Romanov	60

ROMANIA

Dynamics of Political System Under Socialism (ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Sep 79).....	61
Development of Socialist Society, by Theodor Manescu	
Socialist Awareness of Masses, by Vasile Carjaliu	
Anniversary of Outbreak of WW II Commemorated (Sergiu Celac; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Sep 79).....	68

YUGOSLAVIA

Islamic Paper Disputes Series on Moslem Wartime Actions (H. Neimarlija; PREPOROD, 15-30 Sep 79).....	78
Briefs	
Meeting With Islamic Leaders	80

WESTERN MANIPULATIONS IN AFRICA ANALYZED

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, Aug 79 pp 110-123

[Article by Lyubomir Bozhilov: "The African Policy of Imperialism"]

[Text] In the past two decades the African continent has been the arena of tempestuous revolutionary processes which are changing its political, economic and social aspect. After rejecting the yoke of colonialism, the African peoples are now focusing their efforts on social progress and on gaining economic "decolonialization," i.e., freedom from economic dependence on the capitalist countries, the establishment of equal economic relations with them, and putting an end to the predatory exploitation of natural and human resources on the continent by the imperialist monopolies.

The solution of this problem is inseparably linked with the struggle for the social liberation of the people's masses. The polarization of political forces is growing on the African continent. The influence of socialist ideas is rising and so is the role of the revolutionary democrats who are struggling for the implementation of profound socioeconomic changes.

The historical victories achieved in this struggle are closely linked with the continuing change in the ratio of forces in the world in favor of peace and socialism, the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence, the selfless aid and support which the members of the socialist comity, the USSR above all, continue to render to the African peoples, and the growing unity between the national liberation movement and the members of this comity. "The unity of action developed between the forces of socialism and the national-liberation movements in the course of the struggle against colonialism and for freedom and independence has become today a particularly important factor in global development and progress."

With a view to preserving their economic, political, and strategic interests in Africa, the imperialist countries, headed by the United States, do not choose their weapons in their struggle against the progressive trends on the continent. Of late this is particularly clearly manifested: imperialism is coordinating its efforts within NATO in order to mount a counterattack, divide the national liberation forces, isolate them from the socialist

countries and the other progressive forces in the world, retain the continent within the capitalist orbit, and resolve the problem of its long-lasting domination of Africa. "The policy of imperialism, neocolonialism, and all forms of oppression and exploitation," emphasized the concluding document of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties, "remain the principal threat to the peace, independence, and equality of the nations."²

Over 30 percent of the world reserves of mineral resources are found on the African continent. The capitalist world receives from Africa 90 percent of its diamonds, 80 percent of its cobalt, 80 percent of its gold, 62 percent of its platinum, 33 percent of its phosphate, and 27 percent of its copper.³ The African continent enables it to meet a large percentage of its requirements for uranium, petroleum, coffee, cocoa, etc. Africa is rich in deposits of rare metals which are of particular importance to the military-industrial monopolies. Foreign capital investments in Africa are as high as \$25 billion, while monopoly profits average 18 percent. Between 1950 and 1975 the American monopolies alone transferred from Africa to countries on the outside profits totaling \$5.5 billion, whereas U.S. capital investments within the African economy within the same period totaled \$2 billion 250 million.⁴

The extraction of tremendous profits from the exploitation of the continent's natural and manpower resources, as well as the attempts to keep the African countries within the economic and political orbit of capitalism were, and remain the basic motive forces guiding imperialist African policy. The nature of U.S. activities in Africa, pointed out Henry Winston, national chairman of the Communist Party of the U.S., "consists, as in the past, of ensuring the monopolies the possibility to earn tremendous profits through the suppression and exploitation of the peoples of Africa and the plundering of its incalculable riches."⁵

The monopolies of the Common Market countries are also particularly interested in African resources. (The share of imports of most important types of raw material from this continent by England, France, and the FRG ranges from 30 to 90 percent.) It is determined not only by the great dependence of the Western European economy on the import of raw materials but the relative closeness of African sources to Europe. This considerably raises the competitiveness of Western European goods on international markets.

The imperialist countries have always opposed the struggle waged by the African peoples for national independence, for placing under their sovereignty the resources of the continent, and their aspiration to follow a path of independent political and economic development. "The dependence of the inter-linked economies of the United States and Europe on imports of minerals from Africa," wrote LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, "has always favored a policy of interference."⁶ Their policy became particularly incisive with the advent of the raw material and energy crises in the capitalist world.

However, changes occurred and are occurring in Africa threatening the interests of Western monopolies and strongly undermining the influence of the imperialist countries on the continent and the range of their neo-colonialist exploitation. Under the strikes of the national-liberation movement in Africa colonialism crumbled in its classical forms. "In the first half of the 1970's," the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress point out, "the final stage of the breakdown of the colonial system developed on that continent." Tens of independent countries replaced the few colonial empires. The breakdown of the colonial system was yet another proof of the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism and the failure of its colonial policy.

The struggle of the peoples on the continent did not stop with the elimination of colonialism. On the contrary, it entered with even greater confidence its higher stage--the stage of the struggle for gaining economic independence as a prerequisite for true national independence. True political independence can be achieved only after reaching economic independence, for, as V. I. Lenin emphasized, "Economic liberation is... precisely the main one."⁸ With growing persistence the African countries are struggling for the establishment of a new economic order in the world, and for the restructuring of inequitable economic relations imposed upon them by the capitalist countries. Determining that the Western monopolies are the main hindrance to their economic progress, a number of African countries are mounting an offensive against their activities to one or another extent. In countries such as Algeria, Libya, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Madagascar, and others, foreign property was nationalized. In many others, monopoly activities were placed under state control. "In terms of the scale of nationalized foreign property Africa assumed a leading position among the other areas of the developing world."

The role of the independent African countries in international life is growing. This is confirmed by their active participation in the work of the United Nations and the other international forums and in the movement of nonaligned countries where most of them stand on anti-imperialist positions. They are making their contribution to the struggle for the peace and security among nations. "In the liberated countries," said the message of greetings of L. I. Brezhnev addressed to the states and peoples of Africa on the occasion of African Liberation Day, "despite all difficulties, major positive changes are taking place in domestic life and foreign policy. Ever more energetically the young countries are trying to strengthen their independence, raise the standards of the social, economic, and cultural development of the peoples, and protect their legitimate political and economic rights in the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism."⁹

The positions of the confronting class forces and the social content of the struggle waged by the African peoples are becoming ever more apparent in the new stage of the national-liberation revolution. Social contradictions are increasing on the basis of the intensifying socioclass stratification: Currently 17 percent of the continent's population earns 70 percent of the

national income.¹¹ The ideological demarcation among political currents is growing as well. Whereas the right wing of the political circles is becoming ever more closely linked with imperialism and promotes its neocolonial policy, the left wing is gradually adopting the ideas of scientific socialism.

The African communists are in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism and for the social liberation of the people's masses (Africa has 10 communist parties) together with the countries whose peoples rejected capitalism as a historical future for their socioeconomic development and chose a socialist orientation. This revolutionary process is developing in width and in depth. In the first half of the 1970's alone, this path was chosen by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Benin, and Madagascar. Today African countries with a socialist orientation account for 30 percent of the continent's territory and about 25 percent of its population.¹²

In those countries the national-liberation revolution developed into a national democratic revolution. The latter is aimed not only at the strengthening of national independence but gives priority to the social liberation of the people's masses and the elimination of feudal and capitalist exploitation relations with a view to creating the necessary prerequisites for undertaking the building of socialism in the future. Their successful progress is based on the developing state sector in the economy, the implementation of radical agrarian reforms, and the democratization of social life through the involvement of the people's masses in the administration of the country. The revolutionary process is not the same in all countries with a socialist orientation. The different conditions under which revolutionary changes take place, the different ratio of forces within the revolutionary-democratic power bloc, and the different attitude of the ruling circles toward scientific socialism and the role of the working class predetermine the variety of methods, means, pace, and depth of the socioeconomic changes being made in the individual countries.

In Angola, Mozambique, the people's republic of the Congo, Benin, and Ethiopia, scientific socialism was proclaimed the basis of ideological and practical activities in all social life. These countries have built or are in the process of building vanguard parties based on Marxism-Leninism. The dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism in Africa and the ever closer ties developing between the ideas of revolutionary democracy and scientific socialism are a qualitatively new aspect in the development of the revolutionary process on the continent.

The socioclass nature of socialist oriented countries is also manifested in their foreign political orientation. They pursue a systematically anti-imperialist and antimonopoly policy and are strengthening their ties with the members of the socialist comity.

The substantial economic and strategic interests of imperialism in southern Africa are threatened as well. Never before have the racist systems experienced such pressure, both internal and external. The progressive national liberation movement in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa do not conceal that the objective of their struggle is neither the gaining of imaginary national independence and the establishment of puppet neocolonial governments which will defend the interests of the Western monopolies, nor the replacing of white exploiters with black, but the making of a revolution which will take these countries to a democratic way of development.

The Western imperialist countries are also greatly concerned with the influence and prestige of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which are growing with every passing year among the African peoples, and the expanding political and economic ties between the countries of real socialism and independent Africa. That is why, in recent years, the West has been seeking ways and means to maintain its positions in Africa. It has formulated "new plans" for action which can be described only as plans for a neocolonialist counterattack. In order to regain lost grounds, the imperialist countries are intensifying their subjective activities against the national-liberation movements and progressive countries in Africa and, above all, against those with a socialist orientation. They are opposing the attempts of the African peoples which are still in a state of neocolonial dependence on the former mother countries to overthrow the ruling proimperialist systems.

Of late imperialism has been using a great variety of means and acting in several directions to turn back the revolutionary process and change the ratio of forces to its benefit. In order to maintain the neocolonial enslavement of the continent by the West, it is imposing unequal economic relations and exerting economic pressure. It is strengthening the racist regimes in the southern part of the continent as the bastions of imperialism in Africa. It is encouraging the expansionistic aspirations of the Israeli Zionists, and strengthening its ties with the reactionary proimperialist forces and systems, actively using them in the struggle against the progressive classes. Its propaganda centers are engaged in extensive ideological subversions aimed at destabilizing the countries with a socialist orientation and discrediting the policies pursued by the USSR and the members of the socialist comity. Its secret services are organizing coups, physically liquidating noted progressive African political leaders, and recruiting mercenaries. They promote territorial disputes, separatist trends, and ethnic and religious differences. The recent events in Zaire, however, were yet one more proof that the imperialist countries have not abandoned direct military intervention in the domestic affairs of the African countries as a means for the assertion of their interests. Trying to adapt to concrete reality, imperialism is giving priority to one or several of these directions in its activities on the continent.

Because of its leading position in the capitalist world and as the main economic, military, diplomatic, and ideological support of the world capitalist

system, the United States is the main and the coordinating force in the efforts to mount an offensive in Africa. "The United States," stated the PRAVDA article entitled "On Current U.S. Policy," "has become the main inspiration of the new colonialism in Africa--the policy of military interventions and open interference in the affairs of African states, and the crushing of the national-liberation movement."¹³

The western countries use the economic difficulties of the African countries, inherited from the colonial epoch, to impose upon them the type of socio-economic development which would be consistent with their imperialist interests. The granting of loans and the investment of capitals, presented as aid, takes place only under specific circumstances and is strictly differentiated by country. Thus, for example, according to R. MacNamara, chairman of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in order to obtain loans the African countries must "select the type of projects which may be politically unpopular as well," and prove their "readiness to listen to the recommendations of foreign experts and to implement them."¹⁴

As the result of the "open door" policy pursued by the present Egyptian leadership, Egypt's foreign debt has reached the huge total of \$12 billion. Zaire is an eloquent example of the results of such policy. In the 1960's the imperialist countries did everything possible to put in power a neo-colonial government in that country and direct its development in the interest of their monopolies. The results to the people of Zaire have been deplorable. Even though Zaire is one of the biggest African countries and, perhaps, one of the richest in minerals, the country's foreign debt has reached \$4 billion. The payment of interest on such loans alone takes about 20 percent of the income from exports. Inflation is growing rapidly by about 75 percent annually. The already low living standard of the people is steadily declining. These are the reasons for the two consecutive uprisings of the population in Shaba, the richest province, within less than 18 months. Following the occupation of Shaba by NATO, the people of Zaire experienced yet another severe trial: the neocolonial presence of imperialism in the country was strengthened. Its economy fell under even stronger western control. The decision to grant aid to Zaire totaling \$100 million was passed at the meeting of the main capitalist countries, held in Brussels in 1978. In exchange, however, Zaire agreed that a foreign administrator be appointed to control the activities of the Ministry of Finance and that a representative of the International Monetary Fund control the work of the Bank of Zaire. "In fact," L'HUMANITE wrote, "the administration and the Zaire authorities dealing with the country's economy will be put under foreign supervision."¹⁵ Yet, the African peoples know from personal experience that such supervision is synonymous with colonialism. Zaire surrendered to the imperialist countries but the pledge to aid is yet to be granted. "Five months after the first Brussels conference," wrote the Belgium newspaper LE SOIR bitterly, "we must point out that among Zaire's 'friends' Belgium alone kept its word."¹⁶

The imposition of unequal economic relations increases the indebtedness of the newly liberated African countries to the West. In 1975 it totaled about \$32 billion. (To meet such obligations the African countries must make payments of \$4 billion per year, i.e., about 12 percent of the value of their annual exports.) By opposing the efforts of the African countries for the establishment of equitable economic relations with the developed capitalist countries, the West tries to retain them, as in the colonial period, as their raw material appendage. This hinders their socioeconomic development and restricts their political independence.

A colonial past and neocolonial plunder are the main reasons for the fact that today 17 of the 19 poorest countries in the world are in Africa, that 60 million Africans out of a total of 140 million active population are unemployed, and that 39 percent of the population is totally illiterate. This is the reason for the steadily widening gap in the ratio of per capita national income between the populations of developed capitalist countries and of the newly liberated African states, currently reaching 14:1. "International imperialism and its main instrument--the multinational monopoly corporations--remain the main enemies and main obstacle to the progress of the peoples in Africa."¹⁷

One of the means used by the imperialist states to achieve their selfish objectives is attempts to divide the young independent African countries and pit one against another. Let us recall the war in Nigeria in which the imperialist forces urged on the separatists in Biafra to rebel against the central authority of this developing big and influential African country. The events which cost the lives of over one million people broke out only two weeks after the Nigerian government raised the taxes of international oil monopolies. The imperialist countries tried to separate Katanga (today Shaba) from the Congo, whose progressive government had proclaimed nationalization in the country. They support the separatists in Kabinda in order to separate this petroleum rich Angolan province.

The United States and the other imperialist countries encouraged the growing chauvinistic ambitions of the Somali leadership and supported the Somali adventure in Ogaden in the hope of suppressing the Ethiopian revolution. Their policy led to the outbreak of the longest and most blood-letting armed conflict between independent African countries. Fanning a hotbed of war on the Horn of Africa, the imperialist countries, the United States above all, aimed at striking at the Ethiopian revolution and regain their lost strategic positions. The countries in this area have been assigned an important role in the imperialist plans of converting the Red Sea into an "Arab lake." This conceals the aspiration of the imperialist countries, the United States above all, to create a new military bloc. This would facilitate them to assume control over international waterways and expand their military presence in Africa and the Indian Ocean.

Following the total collapse of the Ogaden operation, the hopes of imperialism and Arab reaction are focused on the separatist movements in Erythrea. These movements existed under the imperial system as well. At that time, however, the policy pursued by the United States and the other imperialist countries was aimed at strengthening the emperor's power and the territorial integrity of Ethiopia as an imperialist base. They were not interested in the least in the fate and the rights of the ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Following the Ethiopian revolution, when the revolutionary government undertook to create conditions for the truly free and equal development of all nationalities, allied with the Arab reaction the imperialists began to provide concentrated support to the separatist movements. Without imperialist interference this problem, inherited from Ethiopia's feudal past, would have been resolved in the interest of the people of Erythrea and of new Ethiopia as a whole. The imperialist objective has nothing in common with the national rights of the Erythreans. They are trying to separate Erythrea from Ethiopia, suppress the Ethiopian revolution, which they consider a very dangerous example to many African peoples, and to create a bridgehead for mounting an offensive against the progressive forces and national-liberation movements in Africa.

The exertion of constant military pressure on the independent African countries is one of the most important components of imperialist strategy. Let us point out in this connection the "division of labor" which, of late, has become quite clearly apparent, among imperialist countries, Zionists, and racists in their struggle against the progressive countries and national-liberation movements in Africa. The former wave the olive branch and speak of a peaceful solution of problems in the Middle East and South Africa. The latter, using their economic, military, and political aid, are promoting the imperialist policy, using state terrorism to crush the national-liberation movements and destabilize the progressive systems.

The expansionistic policy of Israel's Zionist leaders, and their colonial aspiration to "develop" the Arab lands conquered through the force of arms, are consistent with the global imperialist interests in the Middle East. That is the reason for which Israel benefits from the generous military, political, and economic support of the United States in the implementation of its plans for the seizure of foreign territories. The Israeli ruling circles are pursuing a tactic of terrorism and bloody repressions against the Palestine national liberation movement and against all fighters for the rights of the Arab peoples. They are trying to suppress the Arab national-liberation movement --the main objective of imperialist policy in this area.

The "Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty," concluded on 26 March 1970 under the aegis of the United States, aggravated even further the contradictions in the area. It is a prerequisite for the outbreak of new conflicts. Securing their rear through Egypt's treachery, the Israeli Zionists increased their military provocations against the Arab countries.

The purpose which American imperialism pursues with this treaty is not an equitable peace but the establishment, under its aegis, of a military-political alliance between Israel and Egypt as its strongpoint in this strategically important area.

"The cornerstone of the conspiracy," said M. Wilner, secretary general of the Communist Party of Israel, "is the creation of an alliance between Zionist and Arab reaction, together with American imperialism, directed against the independent countries and national-liberation movements in the Middle East, the area of the Persian Gulf, and Africa. Israel and Egypt have been assigned the role of policemen of American imperialism in this area."

At the other end of the continent, the racists in the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia are mounting criminal military operations against the native population of South Africa and the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, which could be described only as deliberate genocide. They are mounting constant armed attacks on Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana and are hindering the peaceful development of the peoples of these countries. With imperialist support the racist regimes would like to frighten the enslaved peoples of the African south, make them abandon their legitimate struggle for national independence, force the African countries to terminate their support of the patriots in such countries, and impose upon their peoples puppet governments. "We cannot fail to be seriously concerned," said the greeting address delivered by Comrade T. Zhivkov to the participants in the World Conference for the Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva, "by the policy of the imperialist circles which, actively supporting the racist systems, are doing everything possible to promote suspicion and division among the democratic and progressive forces in Africa, impose neocolonial decisions for existing problems, and protect the interests of the international monopolies."

In recent years the outlines of imperialist policy in the African south have become clearer. After nearly three years of assertions that decisions are being sought which would include in some kind of administration universally recognized national-liberation movements, the imperialist states took steps which eloquently proved that they are ready to accept the so-called "internal settlement" of problems, i.e., the neocolonial puppet governments set up by the will of the white racists. The imperialist countries became the direct accomplices of the racists in the implementation of the major conspiracy against the legitimate interests of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The events in Zaire, however, proved that the imperialist countries in NATO considered the activities of the racists and the Zionists insufficiently effective. Regardless of the great support they receive from NATO, considering the present ratio of forces in Africa they are unable to effectively perform their role as policemen. That is why the NATO members themselves assumed this task, undertaking collective aggressive military-political

actions in Africa. This is a new aspect in the African policy of imperialism, whose consequences could be quite dangerous. The periodical KOMMUNIST wrote that "The visible turn in the African policy of the United States and the other NATO countries is particularly dangerous. Until very recently they could see the ghost of the defeat in Viet Nam veering either in Zimbabwe or Angola, or on the Horn of Africa. This had a sobering effect on the propaganda and policies of the United States and the other Western powers. It looks as though the sober voices recalling Viet Nam and warning the governments of NATO countries of the possibility of its repetition in Africa have now begun to be drowned to an ever greater extent by voices demanding that a "revenge" for the defeat of imperialism be taken precisely in Africa."

Interfering in Zaire, imperialism was saving not the lives of the whites but the capital investments of Western monopolies (\$1 billion for the United States, \$800 million for Belgium, and millions invested by France, the FRG, and Great Britain). On the other hand, a regime unquestionably executing imperialist policy in Africa, aimed at the weakening of progressive forces, was being rescued. "Starting with the assumption of power by Mobutu in 1965, as the result of a military coup carried out with CIA support," wrote LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, "Zaire loyally performed the geopolitical role assigned to it. It not only sent its troops to fight on the side of the FNLA during the war in Angola, but acted as a middleman in the delivery of \$60 million to the FNLA-UNITA coalition. In the Organization of African States and in other Third World forums it supports the American views on matters such as the situation in the Middle East and the new international economic order." 20

The Shaba operation was not of "local importance" only. The Shaba events were used as a pretext to concentrate in the heart of the continent a big contingent of military units and create a "forward NATO base in Africa," 21 which is a threat to the progressive African countries. The regular demonstration of strength also took place to frighten the democratic and progressive forces on the continent and "give confidence" to neocolonial regimes experiencing strong domestic pressures. It was a demonstration, as the periodical AFRIQUE-ASIE wrote, to let the African countries realize that no point on the Black Continent could any longer escape the lightning intervention of the Western policemen. 22

Imperialism seeks in the feudal class and tribal leadership, and the mercantile bureaucratic bourgeoisie support and allies in carrying out its subversive activities. In order to protect their ruling position, the reactionary circles in the African countries openly conspire with it, and turn into tools in its hands for the suppression of the national-liberation movement of their own and other African peoples. An exceptionally dangerous aspect of such reciprocally complementing interests is the imperialist attempts to set up with the help of the most reactionary African countries so-called "inter-African intervention forces." The creation of such forces is an old

imperialist objective. It intends to place them under NATO's aegis, and let them perform police functions on the continent under its command, i.e., protect imperialist interests by pitting some Africans against others. They will also be a form of legitimizing NATO's interference in Africa.

With their attempts to create "inter-African forces" the imperialist countries are taking yet one more step toward the implementation of their policy of blocs and the establishment of military meaning blocs on the continent. This is entirely consistent with their long-range attempts aimed at undermining the Organization of African Unity which, in the course of its 15 years of existence, has proved that it is an important instrument in the struggle for the defense of the common interests of the African peoples.

Another purpose of the Shaba action was to give another respite to the racist systems. The imperialist countries concentrated substantial military forces in the vicinity of Angola, Tanzania, and Zambia--the "front line countries"--and created a tension along their borders, thus diverting their policy of rendering all-round aid to the national liberation movement in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa. This step was coordinated with an increase in the number of armed attacks launched by the racists against Angola, Mozambique, and Zambia.

"The speed with which the United States provided transportation facilities and logistic support to Western intervention (in Shaba--the author)," concluded LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, "proves that the United States is resolved to pursue a more active policy in Africa."²³ The artificially created tension was used by the American administration to prepare the grounds for lifting the restrictions imposed in 1975 on the armed intervention by the United States in Africa and the one-sided lifting of the embargo imposed by the United Nations on trade with racist regimes.

In recent years, however, the tendency of the United States to organize military interventions in the domestic affairs of Africa through its Western European partners in NATO and the help of Arab and African reaction, has become clearer. As reported by TIME MAGAZINE, Cyrus Vance will continue "to encourage the French, the moderate Arabs, and others to use their influence in Africa."²⁴

Countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and other western African countries with proimperialist systems are acting quite energetically in the implementation of imperialist policy in Africa.

The imperialist countries act within a single front when it becomes a question of suppressing the revolutionary process in Africa and holding back social changes in African countries. At the same time, however, they are waging an acute struggle among themselves for markets, raw material sources, and areas of influence. France and Britain are particularly active. It is no secret that France makes extensive use of the 12,000 French

paratroopers garrisoned in military bases in Djibouti, Chad, Senegal, Gabon, Mayotte, and Reunion, for the purpose of supporting reactionary African regimes. French troops openly participated in the battles in Chad, Mauritania, and Zaire. As Western political observers have pointed out, the coup in the Comoro Islands was carried out with the help of the French special services. They point out that France has begun to implement a plan for returning within the Western orbit the strategically important islands in the Indian Ocean. FRANCE NOUVELLE wrote that "Operations of the same type are being prepared against the Seyshelles, Sao Tome, and Principe; Madagascar and Algeria are the prime targets of French imperialism."²⁵ Furthermore, these bases are used by the imperialist forces for "direct military intervention in the domestic political life of the countries in which they are located as well as for provoking crises in other African countries."²⁶

NATO is discussing the question of organizing an operation similar to the one in Shaba to "rescue," if necessary, the whites in Rhodesia. These are new open threats facing the patriotic forces in Zimbabwe. The FRG as well has its special interests in Africa. In recent years the West German company Orbital Transport und Raketen AG (OTRAG) has settled in Zaire as though it owned it. It is experimenting with winged and ballistic missiles. To this effect it has leased for a 50 year term an area of 100,000 square kilometers. It is of interest that this huge training ground neighbors progressive African countries.

Relating all this with the imperialist plans of creating military blocs in West Africa, the area of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the South Atlantic, and the ideas calling for making Israel a member of NATO, we can clearly see that the strategists of the North Atlantic Pact are preparing to extend the control exercised by this aggressive bloc over the entire African continent. "NATO's actions and plans," wrote KOMMUNIST, "prove that the entire continent and the independence and free development of the young countries are the targets of most serious imperialist threats. With the help of weapons, military interventions, and other means imperialism tries to secure for itself in Africa a right to something which it has long lost."²⁷

The African peoples condemned NATO's interference in Zaire and opposed Western attempts to create "inter-African forces;" they considered them a threat to their freedom and independence. "The so-called 'inter-African forces,' organized on the initiative of the Western powers," stated Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's president, are an insult to Africa and limit the freedom of the Africans. Tanzania will consider such forces a weapon of neo-colonialism on our continent."²⁸ The statements of the predominant majority of heads of states of African countries who took part in the Khartum meeting of the OAU, were in the same spirit.

The events in Africa proved, once again, that China's policy entirely coincides with NATO's African policy. It is no accident that it was precisely

during the Zaire action that China was described by the Western press as NATO's 16th member. Both in Zaire's case, during the national-liberation struggle in Angola, and in the events in Horn of Africa, China took the side of imperialism. All this proves that the policy of the present Chinese leadership in Africa follows the direction of the most aggressive NATO circles and is harmful to the just struggle waged by the African nations for true national independence. "China's sinister policy," emphasized the declaration of the Angolan Revolutionary Council, "is manifested in its total support of the policy of imperialist forces both in supplying weapons to Zaire as well as to the Angolan dissident groups which took up arms against the revolutionary gains of our people."²⁹

The African continent is in the throes of an unparalleled upsurge of the struggle against imperialism and for freedom, independence, and sovereignty over natural resources. In order to conceal its subversive activities against independent Africa, imperialism launched most disgusting lies concerning the policy of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the other fraternal socialist countries in Africa. The West is most persistently promoting the idea of some sort of "Soviet-Cuban interference in the domestic affairs on the continent," and of a "communist threat." Hypocritical slogans are being raised such as "Africa for the Africans," and "African solutions to African problems." Joining in the wide ideological subversion are not only the bourgeois mass information media but most senior political leaders. Thus, for example, in the Shaba operation, despite official Soviet and Cuban statements, for weeks on end the White House misled public opinion claiming the existence of "proof" of the participation of the USSR and Cuba in the Shaba "aggression." To this day no such proof has been brought forth, nor could it be, for neither the USSR nor Cuba were involved in the internal rebellion of the population of this province in Zaire.

Concentrated anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban propaganda cannot mislead the African peoples. "There are no Cubans in Africa," said Zambian president Kenneth Banda in Washington, "who have not been invited there."³⁰ Madagascar president Didier Ratsiraka said: "We are not all that naive not to be able to distinguish between the forces of intervention, plunder, and domination... and the forces of liberation which help us to counter the strikes and maneuvers aimed against our stability."³¹

At the same time, leading Western politicians tried to link the detente process with African events. "Brzezinski," NEWSWEEK wrote, "accused the Soviet Union of violating what was described as the detente code."³² Through this the imperialist countries, in fact, were trying to gain the right to interfere undisturbed in the internal affairs of the continent and preserve the social status quo through arms. A proper rebuff to such events was given in the 23 June 1978 Soviet government declaration on topical problems related to the situation in Africa. "Detente," the declaration stated, "in no case presumes putting an artificial end to the objective processes of historical development. It is not a document which ensures the protection

of anti-people's, rotten, and corrupt systems or of any special rights and privileges inherited from the colonial past or obtained by virtue of enslaving deals and treaties. It provides even less so an indulgence to the right to suppress the just struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress or for interfering in their internal affairs."

The USSR and the other countries ruled by real socialism are implementing in Africa, as anywhere else in the world, a principle-minded and consistent policy of friendship and peace among nations, an internationalist policy. "Our country is doing everything possible to develop with them (the African countries--the author) friendly and fruitful cooperation," stated L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman, in his greeting address on the occasion of African Liberation Day. "It supports their struggle for strengthening their political independence and economic autonomy, and for the reorganization of international economic relations on a just and equitable basis." Particularly close ties are being established with African countries whose peoples have chose a progressive path of development and set as their target the building of a society without the exploitation of man by man. The members of the socialist comity are their loyal and reliable friends. They not only sympathize with their struggle but provide them with effective and extensive aid in the political and economic areas and, if necessary, military aid as well if required for the defense of their revolution and for repelling imperialist aggression. "In the socialist countries, these states have loyal and reliable friends, ready to give them all possible aid and support in their development along a progressive path," L. I. Brezhnev stated. "This support is not only moral and political but economic, organizational, and even includes assistance in strengthening their defense."

The Bulgarian People's Republic is also making its contribution to strengthening the economic and political independence of the young African countries. This is confirmed by the active political and economic relations which our country maintains with the countries on the African continent, and Comrade T. Zhivkov's meetings and talks with many leaders of a number of countries in north and tropical Africa and heads of national-liberation movements. "Relations between our country and Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nigeria, the Congo People's Republic, Tanzania, Benin, and other African countries have been developed further," said Comrade T. Zhivkov in his report to the National Party Conference. "We are continuing to assist the Ethiopian revolution and the patriotic forces in Namibia and Zimbabwe."

A new page in such relations was turned in the course of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's official visits to Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and the Yemen People's Democratic Republic. Such visits were not only of exceptional importance to the development of friendly relations with these countries but a new manifestation of the "solidarity between the members of the socialist comity, headed by the Soviet Union, with the struggle waged by the young African and Arab countries for strengthening their national independence and for social and economic progress."

Following a short period during which imperialism abstained from direct military interventions, it confirmed that it had not abandoned its methods of armed intervention in the domestic affairs of African countries. Wherever the forces of national and social liberation threaten imperialist interests in Africa, imperialism is launching feverish attempts to coordinate its counterstrikes. The fact that such coordination takes place within the NATO military bloc is of particular danger to the African peoples. All this calls for the increased vigilance of the African peoples, the organization of a broad anti-imperialist front by all progressive and patriotic forces on the continent, and the support of the progressive and peace-loving forces in the world in order to throw back, yet once again, the attempts of imperialism to recolonize the continent.

FOOTNOTES

1. "International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and Arab Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction." Addis Ababa, 14-17 September 1978. General Declaration. Document No 1/18, p 2.
2. "For Peace, Security, Cooperation, and Social Progress in Europe," PROBLEMI NA MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 8, 1976, p 9.
3. NOVOYE VREMYA, No 28, 1978, p 19.
4. Ibid., No 26, 1978, p 4.
5. AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 7, 1978, p 2.
6. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, July 1978.
7. "GPSU Central Committee Report and the Forthcoming Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy" [in Bulgarian]. Partizdat, 1976, p 22.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Such." [Works], Vol 18, p 402.
9. ME I MO, No 10, 1978, p 38.
10. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 25 May 1978.
11. "For Freedom, Independence, National Renaissance and Social Progress of the Peoples of Tropical and South Africa." Document of the Communist and Workers Parties of the African Continent. INFORMATSIONEN BYULETIN NA TsK NA BKP, No 10, 1978, p 76.
12. AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 5, 1978, pp 3-4.

13. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 19 June 1978.
14. Quoted from Stuart Smith, "AMERIKANSKIY NEOKOLONIALIZM V AFRIKE" [American Neocolonialism in Africa], Progress Moscow, 1975, p 98.
15. L'HUMANITE, 15 June 1978.
16. LE SOIR, 10 November 1978.
17. "For Freedom, Independence, National Renaissance and Social Progress of the Peoples of Tropical and South Africa." Document of the Communist and Workers Parties of the African Continent. INFORMATIONS BYULETIN NA TSK BKP, No 10, 1978, p 75.
18. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 15 August 1978.
19. KOMMUNIST, No 9, 1978, p 109.
20. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, July, 1978.
21. AFRIQUE-ASIE, No 162, 1978, p 24.
22. Ibid., p 25.
23. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, July 1978.
24. TIME, 5 June 1978, p 10.
25. FRANCE NOUVELLE, 29 May 1978, p 14.
26. "International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and Arab Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction." Addis Ababa, 15-17 September 1978. General Declaration. Document No 22/18 p 1.
27. KOMMUNIST, No 9, 1978, p 114.
28. PRAVDA, 10 June 1978.
29. Ibid., 29 May 1978.
30. NEWSWEEK, 29 May 1978, p 16.
31. NOVOYE VREMYA, No 28, 1978, p 7.
32. NEWSWEEK, 12 June 1978, p 10.
33. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 24 June 1978.

34. Ibid., 25 May 1978.
35. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskii Kurs" [The Leninist Course]. Speeches and Articles. Politizdat, Moscow, Vol 6, 1978, p 591.
36. T. Zhivkov, "Za Uspurvshenstvuvane na Sotsialisticheskata Organizatsiya na Truda i Planovoto Rukovodstvo na Ikonmikata" [Improving the Socialist Organization of Labor and the Planned Management of the Economy], Partizdat, 1978, p 13.
37. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 4 November 1978.

9003

CSO: 22(X)

CPCZ CONTROL COMMISSION SHOULD ASSUME MORE RESPONSIBILITY

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 17, 13 Aug 79 pp 6-8

[Article by Milan Razus, member of CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission:
"To Increase the Effectiveness of the Right of Control"]

[Text] As the fifth session of the CPCZ Central Committee emphasized in November 1976, a priority task of party organs and organizations is to create, by means of daily ideologically educational and politically organizational activity, the requirements for the complex fulfillment of the national economic plan and to fully utilize rights of control towards the carrying through of society wide interests, a high efficiency and quality of production. The resolution directs party organizations to support economic workers who attempt the consistent fulfillment of planned tasks, are an example at work and who fight against shortcomings, speculation and indifference.

Likewise, the resolutions of additional sessions, especially the eleventh and the twelfth, of the party Central Committee emphasized that for the elimination of shortcomings, the overcoming of errors and the exposure of their reasons it is necessary to still better utilize the rights of control of the economic leadership of enterprises and factories, to focus on a verification of the realization of party and government resolutions and the fulfillment of decisive economic tasks. The Central Committee places great emphasis on the application of a critical approach in the work of party organs, organizations and communists in all sectors, especially in leadership functions, on requiring the personal responsibility of supervisory workers, on the adoption of an uncompromising stance regarding those who disrupt planning, financial and pricing discipline, who enforce local and neglect society wide interests.

The needed basic improvement of the effectiveness of the utilization of the right of control is not possible without a full understanding of its class political sense and significance. Only a conscious class and party approach can give the needed impulse to the application of the right of control and overall politically organizational work, arm communists and other workers with nerve and courage, evoke new enthusiasm, devotion and healthy ambition to be in the front lines of the fighters for the realization of the economic

and social program of the Fifteenth Congress of the CPCZ. We recall this proposition especially because in everyday life the class political and party conscious approach is often lost and forgotten about. In its place, in those places where it is absent, steps "pure expertise," everything is resolved only administratively, formally. A series of tasks seems to be unfulfillable and there begins to be backing down in the face of difficulties.

The second prerequisite of an improvement in the effectiveness of the utilization of the right of control is the level of knowledge. Its achievement is conditioned by the degree to which party members internalize the economic policy of the party, the resolutions of the Congress and sessions of the party Central Committee, learn the art of inspecting work, notice matters around them, see problems and shortcomings, try to determine their reasons and perpetrators, recognize the views and needs of the workers and react to them in time.

Active participation in supervision and control is not the privilege only of specialists and experts, but is a concern of the widest strata of workers. It is possible for all of them, it is an objective condition of socialist development. We have politically and professionally prepared people, the political and organizational conditions so that the right of control of the effectiveness of economic leadership contributes the most to the realization of the economic policy of the party. Party organs, organizations and individual communists constantly gain new experiences, attempt the improvement of forms and methods of party work, internalize its Leninist style.

The higher quality and effectiveness of all forms of work is not possible to achieve without consistent controls and criticism. Control is the path to criticism, provides it with suggestions. The communist conception of criticism means comradely assistance, the most advantageous means for the overcoming of shortcomings, a condition for forward progress. Comrade Gustav Husak stated on this point at the Twelfth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee: "Certain comrades place the question of where and in what direction it is possible to criticize. The answer is simple, everywhere, where there are shortcomings, from bottom to top and top to bottom, wherever, when a shortcoming, an abuse, the unfulfillment of a task is criticized and the way pointed out, how to overcome it."

To increase the effectiveness of the right of control, to enforce it in the life and work of every basic party organization and all communists requires that existing forms and methods of activity be critically evaluated, positive experiences generalized, new paths sought so that the leadership task of the party is further strengthened and the participation of workers in supervision and control increased.

A certain improvement has occurred recently in the methods of application of the right of control. The concern of party committees for the gaining of their own information and the independent investigation of the level of the fulfillment of tasks is increasing. This certifies that individual members

of the committee of a party organization, together with leading workers, masters and technicians are verifying the situation in sectors where problems have accumulated or shortcomings in the supervision and organization of work have appeared. The results of the control are discussed with leading economic and other responsible workers. At the same time their views, suggestions and attitudes are researched and the cumulative results of the control are presented to committee and member meetings along with the measures of the leading economic workers.

Likewise effective are consultations and meetings of the leading workers of plants and workshops, of leading party groups, functionaries of social organizations, socialist work brigades, engineers and technicians. At them is controlled the fulfillment of the decisive tasks of the factory or the workplaces, problems and weak spots in productive and economic activities are openly criticized, initiative suggestions for resolution are explored. Decisions from consultations are talked over with leading economic workers and presented, along with their measures for the elimination of the shortcomings, to committee and member meetings for discussion and the adoption of their own political organizational measures in support of them.

Along with the increase of complex tasks in production and the economy of factories and enterprises, the necessity is also increasing for a systematic and deeper resolution of various questions and the uncovering of reserves, which demands the continual strengthening of the link of party organizations with the workers. Many all-factory committees of the party have therefore established economic commissions or ongoing work groups, which gather the necessary information, carry out control and work out proposals of attitudes to the reports of leading economic workers. They present analyses and proposals for measures to all factory committees and in this manner help them to penetrate deeper into questions, to increase the effectiveness of their work. Analyses are directed at the introduction and utilization of new technology, basic funds and circulating resources, attention to the economy of production and the quality of products, the conservation of materials, energy and raw inputs.

In many enterprises and factories these commissions or groups constantly gain new experiences and internalize proper, effective work methods. The matter at hand is, to be sure, that they not only register the shortcomings, but that they depend on the knowledge, suggestions and proposals of workers, members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Union of Socialist youth, socialist work brigades, innovators, improvers and technicians and come forward with proposals and suggestions for the optimal resolution of problems and tasks. At the same time it is essential that they analyze every important problem and talk it over with leading economic workers. In this manner commissions and groups can contribute to the enforcement of an attentive and sensitive relationship to the proposals and suggestions of workers, without matters leading to unqualified encroachments into the supervisory activities of managers, or their replacement.

For example, the all-factory committee of the party in the Strakonice factory Fezko gained good experiences from the work of the economic commission. At the beginning, a series of shortcomings appeared in its activities. The commission worked out surveys on the fulfillment of the plan which the factory director could present at any time, and mechanically took over as well, from the economic administration, the analysis of the causes of shortcomings. Following an evaluation of the work of the commission and a clarification of its mission in the all-factory committee of the party, matters led to a fundamental improvement. On the basis of qualified suggestions of the economic commission, which the all-factory committee of the party discussed with the participation of the responsible leading economic workers, several serious problems, for example, were resolved at a higher, enterprise level; it was a matter especially of questions of material technical supply, the stabilization of the work force, the rationalization of labor, the improvement of the social conditions of workers, and other issues. The political support for the measures of the administration of the factory, which was provided by the all-factory committee of the party, contributed to an improvement of the situation and the factory is fulfilling planned tasks. The all-factory committee of the party in Hradec Kralove Ceskomoravska-Kolben-Danek depends on the viewpoint of its economic commission and temporary working groups composed of outstanding workers, improvers, technicians and members of socialist work brigades in the resolution of serious economic problems presented to the economic administration. It entrusts them with finding out the real situation at certain work sectors and to conduct an analysis of the causes which led to the lowering of the quality of activity. The all-factory committee then carefully reviews these viewpoints together with the report of the economic administration and directs communists and responsible workers to conduct urgent measures for correction.

The all-factory committee of the party in the Roudnice Machine Works and Foundry talks over the data presented by the economic workers with party group and the economic commission prior to its discussions on the fulfillment of the economic plan. The commission, in the working out of positions and proposals for politically organizational measures for the all-factory committee, utilizes the results of inter-enterprise control, social organizations, especially the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the Union of Socialist Youth, and the state bank. The leading economic workers present a survey of their own measures, which they intend to realize towards the elimination of shortcomings and the fulfillment of established tasks. The all-factory committee of the party expresses itself on them and will determine the current task for communists, who will share in their carrying out. At the same time, the fulfillment of the plan is not reviewed only generally, but smaller questions are also the subject of exploration, such as the valuation of imported raw materials, the share of communists in the makeup of the production representative of the director for the upgrading of the quality of products and the conservation of material, the utilization of work time, the introduction of night shifts and the like. The all-factory committee thus helps to raise the quality of management and organizational work, without replacing economic management, and to utilize the initiative of workers.

The integration of professional workers into economic commissions and work groups has important significance in the preparation of qualified attitudes of party organizations to the various sectors of activity of enterprises and factories. Party organs and organizations lead economic workers to generalize and propagate progressive experiences from production practice. Before, however, they express their support for a specific proposal, they must carefully explore its political, economic and social significance, its realness and the possibility of securing it materially. Precisely this requires the participation of specialists, of scientific and technical workers, economists and other experts. It would not be, to be sure, a sufficiently good thing to merely support it; it is also necessary to create favorable conditions for its realization and promote it in all possible ways. The independent investigation and verification of how the tasks of the economic policy of the party are being fulfilled is continually expanding and improving. We already have as well many good examples and experiences of the application of proper forms and methods, enabling the broad participation of workers in management and control. Nevertheless, in certain party organizations this practice has not become normal. Shortcomings remain outside of their attention or are justified and excused in the most varied ways, the initiative of workers evolves elementally or does not have sufficient effect. Nothing, however, stops party committees and organizations from obtaining their own information from various sources, such as for instance controls at the beginning, middle and end of operations, state quality inspections, controls of the state bank, committees and people's commissions, and utilizing for this purpose, better than previously, party groups and other controlling organs.

The application of the right of control is connected, likewise, with the cooperation of party organizations and leading economic workers in the preparation of resolutions and political organizational measures adopted by member meetings. At the same time it is proper to prepare their proposals with a lead time which makes it possible to acquaint party groups and individual communists, who will fulfill the established tasks, with them.

In a significant part of the party organizations, the necessary shift has not taken place of the proper direction of control to actual tasks of the economic policy of the party and in the utilization of the corresponding forms and methods of control work. Often there still persists the ineffective discussion of economic questions without the necessary political preparation and formality in the proceedings of member meetings of party organizations. Isolated cases even occur of a direct replacement of economic management by the adoption of party decisions on the manner of management of economic workers, production, on technological approach and similar matters. Excessive zeal or ignorance thus leads to the violation of the policy of a single, responsible worker or enables a leading economic worker to hide his uncertainty through the decision of a party organ or organization.

The independent investigation and verification of the fulfillment of tasks is proper. The leading economic worker, however, must always have the possibility to express himself on the results, to point to mutual dependencies

and ties, to apply his management and decisionmaking power, that is to work out and present to the party organ or organization the most effective measures for the resolution of the problems and tasks. The party organ or organization does not then have to adopt them on his advice, as their responsibility is to review the complexity and effectiveness of measures with a continuation in their own political and organizational measures and directions for mass political and ideologically educational work in support of the decisions of the economic leadership.

9276

CSO: 2400

CPCZ SECTION DIRECTOR ON EXCHANGE OF PARTY CARDS

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 18, 27 Aug 79 pp 17-19

[Interview with Vaclav Vancara, director of a section of the CPCZ Central Committee, by Milada Nova: "Where to Put the Emphasis During the Interviews --Exchange of Party Cards"]

[Text] [Question] Although our party organizations with larger membership have begun their interviews already in July, most of the interviews will not take place until September. What have you learned from the interviews held thus far and what lesson may be drawn from them for the future work of the committees and basic organizations?

[Answer] First of all, I wish to stress again that only the interviews that have been well prepared and thoroughly planned on an individual basis may help mobilize the communists, improve their activity in production and society, strengthen party control and discipline. District committees of the party have provided appropriate stimuli for such considerations in their guidelines for the work of organizations and their committees. They pointed out the areas where every basic organization must improve the quality of its activity and the main tasks and problems on which it must focus its attention and care. Then in June the membership meetings discussed and adopted their own measures for the implementation of the recommended decisions. It is necessary to proceed primarily from these two main documents when considering personal participation of individual party members and their responsibility, and when charting their specific tasks and obligations. I am sure that what I say is nothing new; nevertheless, I think that it is necessary to reemphasize this idea, because, as we have ascertained, the procedures in many committees during the interviews do not correspond with the contents of the measures adopted at membership meetings in June.

[Question] Where in particular is this evident?

[Answer] All party organizations active in the material area are stressing economy, which of course is quite correct. In their overwhelming majority, they have also carefully outlined the ways to intensify their organizational, political and ideological educational work, to mobilize their members and

candidates, to develop mass political program, and the preconditions they will provide for the comprehensive fulfillment of the state plan.

During the interviews proper, however, we have found that not all committees are sufficiently pressing the demand that their members state quite unambiguously how they intend to help fulfill these measures. For instance, what will the leading workers do to improve efficiency of their work, how will they enforce even more consistently the instruction of the 15th Congress to improve the economy, and to observe state discipline, and what improvements will they make for their consumers' and suppliers' satisfaction. Only in isolated cases, for example, in an interview with a communist-designer, his personal approach to more efficient production was discussed, or in an interview with a manager of operations and a foreman their contribution to a better schedule for the rotation of shifts came up, and in an interview with a worker, his pledge to upgrade the quality of products was reviewed, etc.

We all are aware that the main battle is being fought in our national economy, and yet the information from the interviews thus far indicates that less than 20 percent of the assigned tasks are directly economy-related. Even less favorable is the situation in institutions, national committees, research institutes, etc., where the interviews are not being focused sufficiently on upgrading the work of those organs and organizations, of their apparatus and of individuals. Therefore, the committees must unconditionally organize additional interviews so as to affect the consciousness of the party members more intensely, to help them find their proper place and role in the solution of pressing economic and other problems, and to outline their personal responsibility and obligations as members.

[Question] The district party committees must evidently provide more assistance and exercise stricter control, mustn't they?

[Answer] During the first stage of the party card exchange the district national committees of the party accomplished a great deal of honest and devoted work. In certain communities, however, the capacity of the leadership in basic organizations relaxed somewhat in its contents after drafting the guidelines. We are striving for a reform and consider it a step in the right direction that the party press has also begun paying more critical attention to this shortcoming. In the future it will be necessary to continue jointly to pay attention to the extent to which the district committees intensify their differentiated leadership of basic organizations, particularly from the point of view of the conclusions contained in individual guidelines. District committees cannot regard their work as finished with the guidelines; they must return to them again and again, confront on their basis the results achieved, and consistently review the ways the words on paper are turned to reality. Central and kraj party press also should assess from this perspective the leadership and control provided by district committees.

[Question] You have already pointed out that the guidelines of district committees and the adopted measures themselves must serve as the foundation for the agenda of the interviews. At the same time, you mentioned certain facts indicating that this has not been the case everywhere. Where, in your opinion, are further shortcomings that the committees should evade during the interviews?

[Answer] Thus far we have found that not every committee has been able to take a more critical look particularly at the results of the work performance by its leading workers, and to express its opinion concerning their work. The committees should ask their leading workers more questions such as, for example, why do they tolerate a situation where costs are raised without due justification, where their plants are to blame for the shortage of many kinds of consumer goods in general demand, where goods of inferior quality are reaching the market, etc. Of course, it is not enough just to ask these questions; it is necessary to search for a way out from such a situation, and to assign the communists the task to help more vigorously in removing these and many other shortcomings.

Or let us take another question. The guidelines of the district committees underlined the necessity of a more advantageous deployment of the communists. Basic party organizations have endorsed this decision and incorporated it in their own measures. However, if we assess the results of the interviews thus far, we can see only isolated indications of the determination to resolve this obviously difficult problem. When assigning tasks, little attention is paid to the need to train our people for leadership positions. At the same time, among the main positive results of the interviews should be the expansion of the cadre reserves for the party, economic and state apparatus, achievement of a wider selection of candidates for party organs, reinforcement of the street and village organizations with registered comrades, extension of the corps of canvassers, propagandists and lecturers.

[Question] With your permission, it is a common practice that tasks are assigned to those comrades who already have an overabundance of them and often do not know which one to tackle first. In other words, according to tradition, functions are again accumulated by a certain sector of the communists. Or do you have different experience?

[Answer] Just the other day the chairman of one basic organization wrote a letter to our department, complaining that he was given yet another function at the interview. He enumerated a whole series of functions he is now holding. The review we obtained about the so called functional and working load of communist members has confirmed that this is not at all an isolated case and that such instances are not rare. After all, it is a very noteworthy fact that one of every four chairmen of basic organizations serves at the same time as propagandist in some sector of party education. To be sure, it is unthinkable that organizations where all communists have been receiving political training for several years could not produce several propagandists. The same applies to the general division of labor in the committees

as well as among the members. The committees should pay more attention to these issues during the interviews. District committees of the party should supervise proper deployment of forces in basic organizations, particularly since among the 300,000 members of party committees who already underwent the interviews only 1080 had been relieved of some functions.

[Question] The committees of basic organizations have been very busy planning the interviews; in addition, they must attend to many other relevant tasks. Wouldn't you agree that they shouldn't be required to do more than necessary? For example, one okres in East Bohemia called to our attention that allegedly upon the decision of the district committee the committees of basic organizations in that area must prepare written characteristics of every member even before the beginning of the interviews. In my opinion, that is an incorrect initiative. What do you think?

[Answer] We certainly do not want the committees of basic organizations to be overburdened with unnecessary administrative work. For that reason, it is wrong to demand that they submit written characteristics of their members before the beginning of the interviews. As I said, it is important that the officials know every member, his tasks and needs in his place of work, that they thoroughly prepare for the discussion with him and plan the task to be assigned to him. That requires a few notes; there certainly is no need for any extensive paperwork. We sure agree that we have produced everywhere more than enough written materials already during the first stage of the card exchange. At present the problem is to proceed from words to deeds and to help the officials of basic organizations cope with all their tasks.

[Question] What would you want to say in conclusion of our interview?

[Answer] Perhaps I should repeat that the committees must plan every interview conscientiously, not to wait for it to evolve spontaneously, and not to expect that the questions and suggestions which are certain to come up in the interviews will help find a definite solution. Our experience thus far has shown that even here responsible preliminary preparation is of considerable importance and cannot be rushed in any case and neither can the interviews be rushed.

I think that it is quite clear to the whole party and in the final analysis, to our society, that the exchange of membership cards has an unambiguous character of party mobilization and intensification of communist activities; it is not a purge because there are no reasons for that. However, that does not mean that the issue of the purity of membership ranks should be ignored during the interviews. After all, the decision of the 12th meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee states that "in the spirit of its statutes the party will break off with those members who, after all educational means have been exhausted, fail to demonstrate appropriate activity, who dodge their tasks, fail to devote all their energies to implement the party policy, who consistently violate the rules of the party life and the party and state discipline, and who persist in their errors."

A liberal approach to those members is wrong. Therefore, when approving the results of the interviews and membership meetings, the committees must bear in mind that successful party work has always been and always will be based on the quality of the party ranks, on each party member's creative and devoted work, on a high degree of his responsibility, and on his exemplary implementation of party decisions.

When evaluating each party member who meets such criteria--and in the overwhelming majority our members do meet them--it is necessary to reconsider the membership status of those who do not defend the party's policy consistently, and whose vacillation, lack of firmness, a bourgeois way of life, and a bad moral character are harming the party. That applies also to those individuals whose work is below average, who do not serve as an example, who do not participate in the solution of working and other problems, who remain passive, who, as the saying goes, are "in the party," using every opportunity for their own benefit.

Understandably, the card exchange does not involve merely interviews; many other meaningful tasks must be fulfilled. Moreover, many other questions which have turned up must be explained to our working people; that calls for the organization of widespread mass political activities, propaganda and agitation, and for active work involving every communist in working collectives. The committees should listen attentively to the suggestions and opinions expressed by the communists, consider them and draw conclusions from them. All along, it should be taken into account that the entire card exchange is a process searching for the ways to improve the party's work and to consolidate its influence in implementation of decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

9004

CSO: 2400

CSR SECONDARY SCHOOLS START EDUCATION'L EXPERIMENT

Prague UCITELSKÉ NOVINY in Czech No 30, 30 Aug 79 p 4

[Article by Olga Spetova, director of the CSR Ministry of Education, Gymnasia and Secondary Specialized Schools' Section: "Gymnasia and Secondary Schools"]

[Text] When we evaluate the results of our work during a school year, we always ascertain what has been the overall accomplishment; how much initiative and creative effort; how much minute, assiduous work and energy have been applied, so that we can advance one step further toward our established goals in education and instruction. It always appears to us that we have exhausted all the possibilities. However, with each year we become convinced that this is not the case, since every coming year makes greater demands than the year previous on the teacher's work as well as the director's. This is certainly logical, in accordance with the increasing demands on all human activity in the period of scientific-technical development. The same applies to our schools in the school year we have just begun.

For the gymnasia the 1979-80 year is a year launching a new kind of experimental evaluation. By research we examine the new teaching plan for a gymnasium, new curricula and pedagogical means and methodological materials prepared on their basis for individual courses of instruction. Additional research topics will be the draft of a program of communist education of gymnasia students, verification of the functionality and effectiveness of the specialized sector of gymnasia education, the over-all preparedness of graduates for university-level study, especially in the fields of natural sciences and technology, as well as their preparedness for competent employment. Models of effectively directing the teaching process, the system of control and evaluation of teaching results and psycho-hygienic requirements of educational and instructional work with gymnasia will also be scrutinized.

The quality of this research and its results will influence the quality of the new gymnasia program beginning with 1984. Its importance is not in the least diminished by the fact that the experiment will be put into effect this year in only five gymnasia (Brno, Plzen, two in Prague and Usti n. L.).

All gymnasia already have at their disposal the experimental curricula and textbooks. However, it is done this way, since we want the new contents of the teaching program to involve not only theoreticians. We want to have the comments of all those interested in formulating the new program together, who because of their expertise and mastery of pedagogy wish to contribute to the quality of the new program to be introduced on Oct. 1, 1984 in all gymnasia.

The second important task is concerned with the teaching of specialized courses. This applies to all gymnasia, even though at different stages. For the very reason that this instruction field is completely new to the gymnasia, gradual introduction of specialized instruction will be done before 1984, precisely with the purpose of being completely prepared. Therefore, the 99 gymnasia where there already, in 1979 and 1980 are basic courses in production and professional training are solving in a practical fashion problems concerning instruction, material resources and laboratory work. However, the remaining gymnasia which will inaugurate the new program later also have an urgent, pressing obligation to solve these problems, and do so in a very concrete way. In other words, which specialization will be taught and where and by whom. These questions cannot be solved by the best of theoretical concepts. Their practical implementation under local conditions, is, first of all, the task of the directors and the teaching staff, with of course the assistance of the school organs at the appropriate administrative level. In connection with this new program, the important task of all school administrations remain a thorough, practical and accurate promotion of the new concept. Since everything new is met with suspicion, it is necessary "to struggle" against traditional views, to apply persuasion about the need for the new curriculum in the era of scientific-technical revolution, not only with the parental body but also among the teaching staffs themselves. The quality of the new courses, their functionality and effectiveness will obviously offer the best assistance in this promotion effort. For this reason, the creation of favorable prerequisites for this new field of gymnasium education is of great importance.

The experimental testing of the new educational concept regarding six study fields is being continued this year at secondary, professional schools in the year III in the first sequence and in year II in the second sequence. The experimental testing results with regard to the new content of the six selected study fields (machine-building technology, chemical technology, ground construction, crop-raising and breeding of animals and general economics) will always be used for the entire group of related fields. Especially tested will be the new concept of general polytechnical education, with its stress on the mathematico-physical basis, as well as the functional and preparatory value of these subjects in relation to the professional factor in education. The new concept of specialized courses will also be tested, together with the possibility of drafting a common basis for specialized education.

Another target will be the new organization and content of teaching practice in connection with the lower age of enrolled students and with due regard for the scientific-technical development of individual branches of the economy.

Preparation to introduce the new concept in secondary, professional schools is not only a task assigned to experimental schools but to all secondary professional schools in general. On the one hand, we have in mind the preparation of prospective profiles of the graduates of secondary, professional schools and a purposeful construction of appropriate equipment in these schools with a view to their long-range development and the specific character of the individual study fields. On the other hand, an in-depth teaching of mathematics, as required by the new curriculum of secondary industrial schools and secondary agricultural-technology schools.

At gymnasias and secondary professional schools, the common task remains to pay greater attention to students enrolled after completing the eighth year of the Basic 9-year School Program. Even though the teaching in classes attended by these pupils has been regulated by methodical directives, it is necessary to assume that the age difference of one year is at this stage quite obvious as to physical maturity as well as mental growth. This transition, therefore, demands a lot from the pupils as well as teachers and it is necessary to adjust the methods and forms of instruction and pedagogy to this reality. First of all, such teaching methods and forms are required which lead to a mastery and consolidation of abstract concepts acquired, for instance, through explanation understandable to the students, as well as through specific teaching devices; further, to the development of logical thinking, e.g., in the analysis of work assignments, in distinguishing between the essential and less essential, in grasping the correlation when composing an outline, a survey, etc. Also to the formation of systematic and independent study habits, for instance, by familiarizing the students with how to deal with a book, textbook, periodicals, scientific literature and documents. Among the most important tasks of the teacher is to guide the students to independent consideration of problems and their solution and to develop their interest in new scientific and technological fields, production and additional areas of human activity.

Demands on the teacher's ability and preparedness to work with students enrolled from the 8th year of the Basic 9-year School Program are growing and will also grow in view of the fact that with the increasing number of study fields (for the year 1980-81 practically all study fields of the secondary professional schools and gymnasias are included) and with the increasing student enrollment, we will necessarily have to form classes and collectives composed of students of the 8th and 9th years. A necessary prerequisite of success in these classes is thorough individual attention to younger students.

If we ponder the chief additional tasks of gymnasias and secondary professional schools in 1979-80 on the basis of shortcomings in our educational work over the past years, it appears that a greater effort must be made also in educating students to select a profession, especially in the gymnasias. The problem is to deliberately enhance the interest in studying technical fields at the university level. Since the primary aim of studying at the gymnasium remains (even in the project) the preparation for a university, it means that the gymnasium graduates are counted on as a potential student reservoir for all institutions of higher learning, not only with necessary quality but also in required numbers. If the development of our economy requires a 7:1 ratio between the number of university-educated workers in the fields of technology and natural sciences and the number in the humanities field, this also represents a basic guideline for the work of educational advisers and teaching staffs at the gymnasias. Honesty demands of us to deal frankly with the students and parents and inform them about the realistic chances of being admitted to individual institutions of higher learning.

With regard to pedagogical consultation, our debt towards preparation of students to studies abroad remains considerable. This applies to students of gymnasias as well as secondary professional schools. For a number of years, we have not been fulfilling our contractual agreements with socialist countries as to the number of students. More active effort by the schools is apparently necessary. The study abroad not only requires special preparation, but it is also an obvious political problem as well as that of representing our state. It is not adequate merely to be content with a student's or parents' expressed interest, inasmuch as they are informed about this form of preparation. As early as the beginning of the 2nd year, it is necessary to work intensively with those students who because of their capabilities may be considered. The proper selection, which takes place in the 3rd year, presumes individual preparation with the school's assistance, according to the instruction of the CSR Ministry of Education in the case of students of secondary professional schools. Gymnasium students undergo an intensive one-year preparation at the gymnasias in Zdar nad Sazavou or Jevicko. The existence of this "preparatory schooling" for 6 years already has confirmed that its importance for the quality of study abroad cannot be underestimated. The students here have not only an opportunity to complete the fourth year, but in addition undergo an intensive training in the language of the country where they will go to study. They are also being prepared for living in a collective, and the separation from their families creates the experience necessary to cope with different social conditions of study abroad. An in-depth ideological-political education is a good preparation for a Czechoslovak citizen who must live and function abroad. Naturally, and this is of primary importance, it is first of all the technical fields which are chosen for study abroad. The statistical directives for individual study fields which every school director has at his disposal clearly indicate what direction our pedagogical influence on the student should take.

The chief tasks for 1979-1980 are contained in "Pedagogical-organizational Guidelines for the year 1979-1980" and in the "Main Tasks of the Schools After the XV Congress." Our reflection sought to stress those tasks which should be in the forefront of our effort during the coming year. May our common work succeed.

Olga Spetova, director of the CSR Ministry of Education, Gymnasia and Secondary Professional Schools' Section.

6314

CSO: 2400

WEST GERMAN REPORTAGE ON GDR PROTESTANT SYNOD

Prospects for Unification Plans

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Sep 79 p 6

[Article signed "K.A.O.," datelined Dessau, 21 Sep: "Can Schisma Be Overcome? --Synod of GDR Protestant Church Meets in Dessau." For additional West German commentary on GDR Protestant Church reorganization plans and prospects, see the following JPRS issues of this series: 73880, 20 Jul 79, No 1700, pp 41-42; 73349, 1 May 79, No 1674 pp 21-24; and 73185, 9 Apr 79, No 1667, pp 38-39.]

[Text] The synod of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR opened last Friday afternoon in Dessau Resurrection Church. It will continue until Tuesday. Though not all political difficulties have been removed following Honecker's conversation with representatives of the Church Federation, the government's dialog with the Protestant Church has provided an approach for discussing points of disagreement and for ameliorating discrimination.

The session began by discussing the proposal of the Protestant delegate conference, held last January in Eisenach: By 1981 the Church Federation, hitherto loosely organized, is to unite in a United Protestant Church in the GDR. A joint preparatory group has already begun work. The plan was briefly discussed by all Land synods. There is some opposition to the scheme, but in the main the desire for unity predominates in the Land churches. The eight Land churches dating back to the Reformation (Mecklenburg, Greifswald, Berlin-Brandenburg, Anhalt, Province of Saxony, Thuringia, Saxony and Goerlitz) will keep their authority. Some of the work was hitherto carried out by institutions of the various Protestant sects: Lutherans, United Protestant Church, Reformed Church. The general wish is for greater unity. Any sensitive issues still outstanding are to be settled in the near future.

If the Protestant Churches in the GDR succeed in this endeavor, they will have managed in their territory to end 450 years of division. 1529, the year much celebrated by the Protestant Church in the months just past, was more than the year of the birth of Lutheran Protestantism: At that time also Luther printed the small catechism which, centuries ago, defined the

principles of Protestant faith and action; in the same year, in Speyer, 14 cities and princes used the forum of the Reich Assembly to "protest" the ban on further reforms--the first step toward tolerance and Land churches. Yet 1529 also witnessed the religious debate in Marburg, which was the occasion of the final break between Luther and Zwingli.

In recent years European Protestants have weakened the divisive elements. This responds to a long prevailing public mood. Hardly anyone nowadays understands the difference between Lutherans, Reformer Christians and members of the United Protestant Church. Still, these differences persist for numerically small but vocal groups in the respective churches. Among West German Protestants their resistance prevented the ecclesiastical reforms of the Protestant Church of Germany (EKD). Though not quite so acutely, sectarian separatism still influences some congregations and theologians of the Lutheran Church in the former Kingdom of Saxony. They have already announced their reservations regarding the unification of the Protestant Church in the GDR. The dividing issue here is the significance and the content of the Lutheran avowal.

This resistance inflicts on the Church the penalty for an omission: Lately Protestant theology has failed adequately to contemplate the reforming principle's relevance to the present time. In West German churches that became evident when it was necessary, in the course of proceedings against Hamburg Minister Schulz's teaching, to establish what is to be considered binding Lutheran doctrine for a minister. In the 16th Century the medieval Universal Church of the Occident was replaced by sectarian churches: Lutherans, the Reformed Church, Anglicans and, since the Council of Trento, Catholics also. The rapprochement among the churches now raises the question whether ecumenism may point the way back to a Church which is common to all Christians, where different doctrines and customs are not felt to be divisions but cherished as reflecting the wealth of the various forms of living one's belief. Theological persuasiveness will have to convince us that such a development is due. That will be one of the most important tasks for scientific theology and the ministry in the coming years. The result will ultimately also decide the unification of the Protestant Churches in the GDR.

Criticism by Protestant Churches

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Sep 79 pp 1-2

[Article signed "Us.," datelined Dessau, 23 Sep: "The GDR Protestant Churches Warn Against Education For Friend-Foe Mentality--Cautious Criticism--Seigewasser: Mutual Learning Process of Many Years--Dessau Synod"]

[Text] The Protestant Churches in the GDR insist on speaking their mind--if necessary in public--even if this causes differences with the government. They hope that the GDR Government will respect this independence in future also. Of course they do maintain a certain reserve when expressing opinions differing from official doctrines. That is quite noticeable at the synod,

currently meeting in Dessau, of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR. This reserve evidently issues from the fear of jeopardizing the improved relations between the government and the churches in the GDR, achieved since the talks held between representatives of the Church Federation and Council of State chairman Honecker on 6 March 1978.

At a reception for Church delegates in Dessau, given on the occasion of the synod of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR, GDR State Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs Seigewasser, for example, said that the historic and future importance of the talks of 6 March 1978 consists in the fact that the "churches of the GDR unequivocally defined their status in real socialism." At that time the government, "in pursuance of its former policy" underlined its constructive "attitude, characterized by a great deal of understanding for ecclesiastical concerns." Seigewasser commented: "None of those involved, therefore, may retreat beyond the affirmations made at these talks." It was the topical task for all to keep alive the conciliatory spirit of the meeting. This spirit was precious "because the talks were the result of lessons learned in the course of many years, by the ecclesiastical as well as the government side." However gratifying the admission that the government also had learned its lesson, many Church members in the GDR consider this statement a hidden admonition to the churches, warning them to keep the frankness of their pronouncements in certain bounds.

Nevertheless, the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR was the first institution in the country publicly and critically to comment the greater severity of the GDR political penal law which went into effect on 1 August. Referring to the new provisions which mandate severe penalties for the expression of any criticism of the government either inside the country--or with regard to certain writers also outside the GDR--, the report submitted to the synod by the conference of Protestant Church leadership organizations says: "The conference heard a report on the third penal code amendment law. As a consequence of persistent uncertainties, the conference will further deliberate the material submitted. It must be made quite clear that a sense of responsibility and constructive criticism are indispensable elements of social life."

The Protestant Churches also reiterate their rejection of military instruction in GDR schools. "Still topical is our complaint that military instruction results in indoctrinating young people for a friend-foe mentality and accustoms them to consider violence a legitimate means for resolving conflicts," says the conference report of the Protestant Church leadership organizations.

The churches repeat their urgent plea for education to give priority to the exercise of peaceful behavior and the standpoints of confidence formation. With approval they note that the government--"insofar as the conference has been able to establish"--has kept its word in regard to two issues: The churches had called for a spirit of tolerance toward the conscientious objections of those who refuse to let their children participate in military

instruction. They had also demanded that no discrimination should be visited on those who either abstain from military instruction or attend and criticize it.

At the Dessau reception State Secretary Seigewasser said that the frank and open relation between state and church is based on the expectation that, at meetings of representatives of government and church "either side will respect the identity of the other." The report of the conference of Protestant Church leadership organizations to the Synod points out the situation in the GDR education system, which still does not accord with this statement. The report says that students at school should also feel safe. The students in our schools must also "genuinely experience" that Christian citizens may work and live as equals in the socialist society. Efforts in that direction are unmistakable. Unfortunately, however, school instruction still tends to offer "a distorted view of the church or the Christian faith." If it is felt necessary to enforce equality of rights and equality of respect as standards of daily life, openness and truth must not be omitted from the most important sphere of school and education.

The churches are already approaching another problem. They did succeed in getting the government to allow Christian children also to be admitted to universities, to permit them more frequently to attend the expanded secondary school. But what happens to those who have graduated, who have acquired the qualifications to become senior cadres? Are they in fact allowed to hold management positions, or will these continue to be reserved for SED members because the party considers itself the "leading force?" The report to the synod states in regard to this matter that the discussion of 6 March 1978 and the subsequent meetings between representatives of the government and the churches had stressed "that the cooperation of Christian citizens in our society is not merely tolerated, it is desirable and expected." The State Secretary for Ecclesiastical Affairs again repeated this assertion in Dessau. The conference of Protestant Church leadership organizations commented as follows: "These unequivocal assurances offer the basis for the social co-responsibility of Christians in senior functions also. We assume this to be so, although our experiences sometimes counterindicate it."

These other experiences, the acknowledgment that it is virtually impossible for Christians in the GDR to hold genuinely senior jobs, especially if they are not members of a party, are in fact the rule as of now. That is why Christians in the GDR tend to be rather resigned: Many think that all decisions are ultimately made by the others, that there is no opportunity for really affecting them; that Christians cannot expect Marxists to grant them genuine equality in the socialist society.

Continuation of Discrimination by State

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Sep 79 p 5

[Article signed "N.A.O.," datelined Dessau, 25 Sep: "Merger Advocated--Dessau Synod Ends--Strained Relations With State Persist"]

[Text] Last Tuesday ended the synod of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR, held in Dessau. The final resolutions concerned Protestant unity in the GDR and the status of Christians and churches in this nation. The synod

voted for the early unification of the Land churches in a common Protestant Church in the GDR instead of the three former church associations. It expressed its thanks to the government for the talks which had resumed since 6 March 1978: "We welcome quite particularly that the factual discussions between the government and the conference of Protestant Church leadership organizations increasingly assume the character of a dialog between independent partners."

However, the synod also mentioned persisting conflicts. They include military instruction in the schools and the churches difficulties in obtaining the necessary printing permits. The synod singled out the strain in the GDR "between the principle of equal rights, equal respect and equality of opportunity for all citizens--regardless of their ideology--on the one hand and the declared educational goal of the communist personality in all spheres on the other. This strain is basically insoluble."

Subject to some dispute in the synod was the advocacy of a closer unity of the Protestant churches in the GDR. Ultimately, on Tuesday last, a formula was adopted which, though cautious, promises support for church unification. In ecclesiastical German the text says: The synod will "helpfully accompany and encourage" this work. The churches are invited even now to act with as much cohesion as possible and to avoid duplication of efforts. In the eyes of Protestant Christians the Protestant Church in the GDR is spiritually and tactically a single entity, the synod said. Yet, as a consequence of political and theological history since the Reformation, the ecclesiastical organization of Protestantism is extremely complex. Currently three Church associations of Land churches persist side by side: The Land churches of Mecklenburg, Saxony and Thuringia constitute the United Protestant-Lutheran Church; the Land churches of Berlin-Brandenburg, the Province of Saxony, Anhalt, Greifswald and Goerlitz belong to the Protestant Church of the Union; all these Land churches have combined for 10 years in the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR, which replaced the former all-German Protestant Church in Germany (EKD). Many of these churches overlap. To maintain communion of faith, ideas and action, it will be necessary to expend much time and money. This is beyond the means of the churches in the GDR, which have suffered a severe decline.

The crucial sentences of the Dessau synod resolution of Tuesday last read as follows: "The federated synod reaffirms the tendency governing the Eisenach recommendations for developing a new community from the three earlier ecclesiastical combinations." The comments so far available show--even where constructive-critical voices are raised--that there is a good deal of readiness resolutely to forge ahead in order quickly to arrive at some results.

The synod warned of undue expectations but also of apathy. It listed several issues which must still be dealt with before ecclesiastical unity can be achieved: The significance of the sects; the distribution of functions among local congregations, Land churches and the new church. The Land churches are explicitly invited to yield some of their authority to the new common church.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PILOT EMERGENCY PARACHUTE TRAINING DESCRIBED

East Berlin ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 9, Sep 79 signed to press 29 Jun 79
pp 36-41

[Article by Lt Col Ernst Gebauer: "A Change For Life"]

[Text] The high landing speeds and considerable size of modern combat planes make safe emergency landings, in case of technical malfunctioning, anywhere except at airports impossible. Technical malfunctioning occurs relatively seldom during training. But the pilot must be prepared for it in combat. Even when he is victorious. Even lack of fuel can force him to catapult. Then he must resort to the emergency back-up system. If he activates it, he ejects himself out of the cockpit along with his seat. In fractions of a second, he must endure 18-20 times the stress in direction head-hips. After that, the air current slows him down but, depending on the speed of flight, the stress could possibly increase in the direction chest-back.

When the parachute opens, pressure increases again up to 16-fold in direction head-hips. During the descent, stress finally decreases to 3-5-fold. This can be endured by a body in training. Conscious control of these processes is impossible. The pilot must depend on the automation of the emergency system. However, man has to prepare each and every automatic triggering of technical equipment. Corp Hoyer and the other comrades of the parachute and rescue service in the "Fritz Schmenkel" fighter bomber wing do this with their emergency systems, parachutes, flight suits and drag parachutes of the MIGs. An entire fighter bomber wing is depending on their work.

So who is Hoyer? Michael Hoyer became a parachutist in the Society for Sport and Technology at the age of 17. "The entire process of jumping is fascinating. The free fall gives me especially great pleasure. There is absolute quiet and one sees a lot. Fear? No, perhaps a little during the first jump."

The speaker has 107 jumps behind him and knows the technical structure of all types of parachutes in common use. After being drafted, Michael became a parachute mechanic in the air force. After the appropriate special training,

"in the army everything is more complicated, but also more interesting," he has been servicing the wing's parachutes for almost 2 years. Even for jump training of paratroopers, where proper know-how in case of technical failure is taught. Even the most experienced pilots experience great psychological stress. When stepping out of the AN2 into thin air, they leave behind them the familiar machine with which they have learned to stay in the air. This step comes easier to many when it is Hoyer who is the first to jump. Because it was he who packed their parachute. Comrade Hoyer also tries to instill the desire to do careful work in the future parachute engineers who receive their special training here. They learn from the older comrades, especially from Hoyer. For a beginner, the canopy of a parachute is an enormous amount of material to handle, that is to say, to place it neatly in folds until it is a package the size of a knapsack, without as much as a line out of place. It can drive one to despair. It must be practiced until it can be done in one's sleep, and may not be packed independently until a test is passed--a separate test for each type of parachute. This can only be accomplished with the trainer, at the moment with Corp Hoyer.

Again and again they pack together. Soon Comrade Hoyer allows his students to take the lead. He himself functions as assistant, but carefully observes every move the student makes. If necessary, he intervenes. When it is no longer necessary, he signs for him and jumps with that same parachute before the student's eyes. "This gives the new comrades confidence in their own work as well as the desire to learn to jump themselves. If they don't already know how. Then they can pass all the tests, too.

Corp Meissner also concerns himself with the safety of the pilots, but "at a different front" of the Specialized Service. Bringing the pilot safely down to the ground from different altitudes, without a plane, in spite of great speeds, is only one of the problems. He must also be able to cope with environmental conditions. Atmospheric pressure, temperature and partial pressure of all gases contained in the air decrease as altitude increases. Although the percentage of oxygen in the air does not change, an increasing and eventually fatal lack of oxygen appears in the organism as the altitude increases. The cause: When the atmospheric pressure goes down, the oxygen pressure in the air we breathe also goes down. In order to be able to function (from approximately 4,000 m on), and to be able to stay alive in great altitudes (from approximately 10,000 m on), the decreased oxygen pressure must be compensated for by an increase in the percentage of oxygen in the air which enters the lung as the pressure in excess of atmospheric pressure increases--depending on the altitude. This is relatively simple for the pilot in the pressurized cabin. Should it somehow become depressurized, or if the pilot has to eject, then his protective suit, or pressurized suit, protects him. It assures the necessary breathing of pure oxygen under excess pressure. Built-in tubes, some of them filled with compressed air, apply external pressure on chest or body to help the muscles used in breathing and to prevent problems with blood circulation (enlargement of the veins);

other tubes contain the necessary amount of pure oxygen. Simultaneously, the suit with its tube systems forms a kind of corset during periods of excess pressure in curves and dives, preventing dislocation of inner organs.

The work of Corp Meissner can be appreciated only after this simplified but necessary excursion into flight medicine. The mechanic for protective flight equipment is the pilots' "valet." He not only services their equipment, he also helps them into their suits and, while doing so, checks them over once more, adjusts them as needed and fits their helmets on. "Very diversified work for me. In this shift I work independently and therefore I have the responsibility," says the young communist Meissner. "When I help the pilot get out of his suit again, he tells me how it was up there. How he discovered his "enemy" right away and how he got him on his visor after only a few maneuvers. Then it is beautiful. I am happy because my own work has paid off, too." And has it paid off! Comrade Meissner has modified 2 testing instruments so that they now work with greater precision and speed when the protective equipment is being tested. The corporal is saving 4 hours per week. Time he uses to further his special technical training. His last success: a mark of "good" in his examinations for Classification II.

To know that our personal equipment is taken care of by such experienced comrades gives us the necessary confidence when we board the plane, say the pilots of the wing.

The report would not be complete if we did not mention the drag parachutes which help reduce high speeds during landings. For safety reasons--the fast planes could go off the runway--no plane may start without one. For financial reasons--brake liners are extremely expensive--every pilot uses the drag parachute. Up to 120 of these drag chutes per flight shift have to be folded again by the comrades. Even after they have succeeded--again for economic reasons--to increase the average life from 30 to 45 landings through good maintenance. "Through conscientious work on the systems and equipment in our care, together with every more developing collective work, we have been able to get the title "Best Collective of the Regiment in 1978." Says Maj Herzberg, commanding officer of the Parachute and Rescue Service, not without pride. Because every 6 months new comrades must enter the collective. Have to pass many examinations. Conscientious work cannot be done on command, one must be educated to it. For this, he "depends on the support of his entire group." And that simply takes time.

It appears that time is no problem for these comrades, when it concerns their work. It is barely dawn when they roll the canopy in the grass covered with morning dew. Jump course of the parachute mechanics. Corp Hoyer, who had worked second shift the day before, is also present. The AN2 starts even before sunrise. The first rays of the sun fall on the jumpers upon landing. It is Corp Hoyer's 108th jump. Why everything so early? For one, meteorological conditions are often favorable at sunrise, and secondly, the flight duty of the fighter bomber wing, their common combat mission, starts in the early morning hours.

OFFICIAL AFFIRMS COMMON GROUND WITH EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 9, Sep 79 pp 22-32

[Article by Janos Berecz, chief of the Department of International Affairs under the MSZMP Central Committee: "Dialogue and Cooperation Among the Communists of Europe"]

[Text] A question frequently raised these days is how strong is the international communist movement today, and how strong will it be tomorrow. This question is extremely timely: on the one hand the communist movement in our time comprises parties operating under very diverse conditions; and on the other hand the process of world revolution and, in close connection with it, also the future of mankind depend in many respects and increasingly on the activity and cooperation of these parties. If the past is the basis and key to the future, then we may safely say that the history of the past six decades has repeatedly confirmed this statement.

In answering this question we must start out first of all from the fact that the communist movement is the greatest organized political force in our time. The communist parties are the leading force in building a new society in the socialist countries, and the fraternal parties are gaining in strength and size elsewhere as well: today Marxist-Leninist parties are functioning in about 90 nonsocialist countries, uniting nearly five million people in their ranks. The number of those who cast their vote for communists in the national and local elections is several times greater. The communists are playing an active role in various national and international organizations: trade unions, women's organizations, and other social organizations.

If we compare the present situation with the situation even a decade ago, and if we focus our attention only on the fraternal parties in the European capitalist countries--as we are doing in this article--then noteworthy is the rise in the influence and prestige of several parties. (This is not altered by the fact that the rise in influence, a process that depends on subjective and objective factors, is uneven.) Our fraternal parties in Western Europe have about three million members. Today we may say that the fraternal parties in, for example, France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Finland, Greece and Cyprus have increased their strength to such an extent that the

ruling classes in all their decisions must consider, in one way or another, the standpoint that these parties represent. Even the bitter resistance with which the reactionary parties and groups in these countries--and, in concert with them and encouraging them, also the external capitalist elements--oppose any communist participation in government is a peculiar indication of the communists' strength and influence.

That the situation developed in this manner is a result of important factors. It will be worthwhile to call special attention to two of these factors.

The first factor is that the conditions of the communist parties' struggle in the countries of Western Europe--even though the specific conditions vary considerably--have been influenced positively by the shift in the international balance of power, in favor of socialism, peace and progress, by the fact that the process of detente in Europe has gained momentum and produced its most significant results in this decade.

The unfolding process of international detente has been reflected also in the individual capitalist countries' balance of political power, and at the same time this has created more-favorable conditions for the possible unfolding of positive social changes in the capitalist countries. Simultaneously this has made capitalist armed intervention more difficult but has not ruled out such intervention completely. Liquidation of Europe's three remaining fascist-like systems--in Portugal, Spain and Greece--became possible and was accomplished. Today Turkey is the only country in Europe where the communist party is outlawed.

Naturally the consolidation of the positions of democracy and detente in Western Europe cannot be attributed solely to international factors. A very great role in this was played by the struggle of the progressive forces, in the widest sense, in the individual countries. In this context we should call special attention to the fact that in Western Europe the communists were the vanguard in the struggle for democratic changes, and they had written these demands on their banners decades earlier. The slogans that they coined were subsequently adopted by the socialists, social democrats and other left-wing democratic forces.

The other fundamental factor that influenced the development of the situation was that another depression erupted in 1974 against the background of the general crisis of capitalism, and it has been permeating all areas of life in the countries of Western Europe, making the conditions ripe for change. Initially this development enhanced primarily the influence of the social democrats who promised--amidst severe inflation, large-scale unemployment, government instability and depression--stability, the maintenance of social equilibrium, and preservation of the "welfare state." In the final outcome, however, the protracted depression proved to the masses that there is no depression-free capitalism; that this concept is a myth, although the present depression differs in many respects from the depressions that occurred in the past.

The fraternal parties are striving to develop the concepts of their policies with due consideration for the depression and its specific domestic manifestations. The essence of their efforts can be defined as an attempt to provide a constructive program for the masses seeking a way out from the world depression. In these programs we find on the one hand the immediate requirements: what must be done to curb inflation and reduce unemployment, and to safeguard the workers' won rights. On the other hand the communist and worker parties functioning in the capitalist countries go far beyond outlining solutions to the problems created by the present world depression and are urging profound democratic reforms through which they can curb and eventually break the power of the monopolies, strengthen and develop further the democratic institutions, and open the road to socialism. For all this it is necessary to win the masses, to achieve the widest possible cooperation of all antimonopoly forces, and to join up also the classes, strata and forces that as yet are not supporting, or have never even considered supporting, direct socialist solutions.

The elaboration and practical implementation of these programs require creative intellectual effort and consistent practical activity, and at the same time they have evoked a broad exchange of views among Europe's communists. Debate in principle developed particularly on two questions.

First of all there was debate on the extent to which national characteristics, the differences by countries, must be taken into consideration when designating the roads to revolution. The conditions for agreement in this debate were given because, regarding the essence of this question, Marxist-Leninists have never denied the abundance of the forms in which socialist revolution is realized, the variety of its roads. The essence of Marxism-Leninism's successful practical applicability lies specifically in that it does not employ general schemes to selecting the specific road of revolutionary transformation, to answering the questions that arise in the course of building a socialist society, rather it seeks solutions that combine into dialectic unity society's essential uniformity and the variety of forms.

The debate summed up the latest experience in the application of revolutionary theory and enriched the common theory. Joint realization confirmed that socialist revolution could not be copied, that hence there were no models of revolution, that in every country the socialist revolutionary transformation took place and was taking place in a specific manner, one that in its entirety could not be repeated elsewhere. The common essential elements of the process are: the overthrow of the power of the exploiting ruling classes, the establishment of popular rule under the leadership of the working class, and the transfer of the basic means of production to socialist ownership. The revolutionary transformation itself takes place under extremely variable and diverse conditions, depending on the specific circumstances and the balance of political power. It may take place by armed violence or also by the relatively peaceful methods of revolutionary force; it is by no means solely the outcome of "attack" but may occur gradually, in extended form, in several longer, interrelated yet distinct stages; not necessarily with the complete liquidation of the previous society's political institutions, but also with the gradual conquest of some of these institutions and the transformation of others. In our time--in the wake of

the shift in the international balance of power, and thanks to the greater strength of the forces of socialism, democracy and peace--the likelihood is generally greater that the revolutionary process can start and take place in a peaceful and democratic manner, without an armed uprising and civil war.

From the viewpoint of the communist movement as a whole, the specific practical experience of the individual parties is valuable in that the generalizable experience and lessons are incorporated in Marxism-Leninism's ideological system; in accordance with the directions and requirements of mankind's general development, the specific practical experience broadens and enriches the classical teachings, occasionally adapting them to the new reality, and supplements the already generalized lessons of earlier experiences. This view was formulated also in the joint communique issued on the visit to Hungary of the Soviet party and government delegation headed by Leonid Brezhnev: "The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regard with respect the fraternal parties' constructive search for ways and means to develop further the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin regarding society's revolutionary transformation and the building of socialism and communism. Practice confirms that this activity is fruitful if it takes into account the general laws of class struggle and socialist transformation, as well as the specific historical conditions and national peculiarities of the given countries."

Within the Western European communist movement there developed simultaneously also debate on the essence of socialism, and on existing socialism and feasible socialism. The debate on the way and mode of fighting the socialist revolution expressed mostly the practical requirements and was linked to the Western European communist parties' political programs. But the Western European exchange of views on the essence of socialism was somewhat of a theoretical nature. Basically it is understandable that some of the fraternal parties in the developed capitalist countries believe that socialist society in these countries will, once it is realized, assume a different form and will differ significantly from existing socialism. But the fact remains that in certain periods some representatives of the individual parties lost sight of the proportions, and that emphasis on the differences led to systematic criticism of existing socialism.

So far as criticism itself is concerned, the communist and worker parties that govern the socialist countries can never be satisfied with the achieved results and the developed situation. The building of socialist society, too, occurs through the rise and resolution of contradictions. New requirements and new ideas emerge, and of course also mistakes and shortcomings occur. Indeed the communist and worker parties of the socialist countries view these phenomena very critically, striving to uncover them and to correct the shortcomings. Lenin said: "All the revolutionary parties that perished up to now did so because they became complacent, were unable to recognize wherein their strength lay, and were afraid to speak about their weaknesses. But we will not perish because we are not afraid to speak of our weaknesses and will learn to overcome them." In accordance

with this teaching, constructive dissatisfaction is characteristic of socialist society's leading and governing bodies. Within changing reality it is necessary to designate the new tasks and the mode of their solution, in the interest of progress.

The class enemy has constantly "criticized" existing socialism and the socialist countries, since their very birth. We have placed this word in quotes because the means of the class enemy's criticism are indeed very characteristic: armed intervention, economic blockade, propaganda campaign, libel, and interference in domestic affairs. All this is natural because the bourgeoisie and international imperialism oppose existing socialism on a class basis.

Imperialism of course would like nothing better than to present as generally valid its set of values, and within this its "criticism" of the socialist countries. But it is becoming increasingly evident from the nature of imperialism's "critical campaign" that it is aimed against socialism, is sharply anticommunist in content, and that it is directed against any and all forms, modes and independently chosen roads of social progress. This is so even if at first glance and formally most of the slogans employed by imperialism in its "critical campaign" seem "merely" anti-Soviet, "merely" directed against the socialist countries. Essentially anticommunism does not differentiate. To international imperialism it is all the same whether the communists in question are those of Western Europe or Eastern Europe; it sees its ultimate interests jeopardized by every communist party, by the entire communist movement and revolutionary working-class movement. From the multitude of evidence we could glean at will, but on this occasion let us refer to the Baltimore speech by the President of the United States, a speech that created a worldwide sensation. In it he "expressed his hope" that the strength and mass influence of the Italian CP would significantly decline in the near future.

The practical experience of the struggle in recent years has proved--and not only to us--that a basic requirement for the growth of the communist movement's influence is as follows: its detachments must clearly formulate their relationship to the socialist countries, to existing socialism. We have always felt that the socialist countries' formation is a joint achievement of the international revolutionary working-class movement, a support of the international class struggle against imperialism. Several Western European communist parties held congresses this year to review the realization of their strategic and tactical concepts, and their practical activity. These congresses also formulated more clearly and comprehensively several important questions in conjunction with the socialist countries. The standpoints of these fraternal parties retain various elements of criticism regarding existing socialism, but certain of their earlier standpoints have been formulated more accurately, and some of them have even been modified.

The report presented to the 15th Congress of the Italian Communist Party underscored existing socialism's world historical role and significance, praising the results that the socialist countries have achieved in building

a new society. Emphasizing the further tasks in exploiting the democratic opportunities, the report spoke with appreciation about the assertion of human rights in the socialist countries; while retaining its right to criticize, the report also underscored that no one could alienate the Italian communists from the socialist countries and their parties, "from the sources of the Italian Communist Party's strength."

At the 13th Congress of the French Communist Party it was emphasized that international reaction and bourgeois propaganda were waging campaigns against existing socialism, that communists could not remain neutral in such a situation and had to respond to the enemy's libel. According to the standpoint of the French communists, socialism in every country is an original and independent creation, one that originates and develops as a specific response to a society's specific demands and needs. On this basis the French communists established with appreciation that existing socialism has already proved its superiority over capitalism in the solution of important social problems, and that the balance of the socialist countries' development has been positive. According to the French communists' noteworthy statement, a specific road to socialism is realistic in France--and in Western Europe in general--because the socialist countries, and the Soviet Union in particular, have contributed significantly toward creating the indispensable international conditions, toward shifting the balance of power between socialism and capitalism. While they emphasized that the French Communist Party retained the right to constructively criticize certain phenomena in the socialist countries, they confirmed their far-reaching solidarity with the communist parties that have achieved workers' rule.

The European communist movement also gained valuable experience during the past two or three years. It seems that the fraternal parties of Western Europe, in the light of this practical experience, are forming a clearer picture of existing socialism and are beginning to judge more realistically the socialist countries' results and problems, their historical role and present situation. This helps us to find better, more-suitable and more-effective forms of cooperation, in the interest of our great common tasks.

The attitude to existing socialism is not the only question in conjunction with which the Western bourgeois newspapers now write that the communist parties "have become tougher, more rigid" and "are modifying their policy." Actually the point in question is not a change of policy, rather the change of reality, consideration of the constantly changing conditions of class struggle. The Western European communist parties' programs regarding the peaceful and democratic road to socialist revolution have produced significant results in a few countries so far; to this extent their strategy, which of course is still in the phase of search for ways and means with regard to many of its elements, has proven effective up to now. Therefore these parties are striving to proceed consistently along this road. But at the same time the changing direction of the movement of the masses, the bourgeoisie's political maneuvering, the changing international and domestic situation, and the effect of anticommunist propaganda demand that the political activity of these parties be characterized by a high degree of

tactical flexibility, by timely adjustment to the realities, while their strategy remains consistent.

Among these realities the communist parties take into consideration also the fact that the reactionary bourgeois circles are striving increasingly to take direct and exclusive control of the capitalist countries' governments, so as to prevent the commencement of radical social and political changes. After Helsinki, extremist groups of the bourgeoisie intensify their activity not only in propaganda. In several European capitalist countries there have lately appeared phenomena indicating that the monopoly-capitalist system is placing its bets increasingly on explicitly right-wing parties and groups: on the Christian Democrats in Italy, on the Conservative Party in England, and on the CDU-CSU [Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union] in West Germany.

It is essential to realize that the right-wing parties are concentrating their main fire, after and besides the communists, on the socialist and social democratic parties. The right-wing parties are exploiting also the fact that the prolonged recession is increasing dissatisfaction with the social democratic parties that are governing or participating in government but are unable to end inflation, unemployment, and the rise in the cost of living.

In many countries the masses have become disoriented; not only certain petite-bourgeois strata that even recently were able to boast of their social importance and material advancement, but also certain blue-collar and employee strata as well as groups of intellectuals. A myth is falling apart before their very eyes: the myth of the "welfare state" about which bourgeois ideologists proclaimed that it was able not only to control the fluctuations of the business cycle, but also to gradually liquidate poverty and to relieve the most flagrant manifestations of social inequality. The state--to borrow a phrase from LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE--has become a "miser state" that disregards the needs of the population's less provided-for strata. Thus in several countries social democracy's basic ideological-political premise is being questioned that the capitalist social system must be preserved, and that it only needs to be "improved." The policy is being questioned that wishes to achieve social advancement within the framework of this system and advocates class peace between the exploiters and the exploited. As Callaghan, the leader of Britain's Labor Party, said in late 1976 when he addressed the upper strata of British society and the trade unions, the mass base of his party: "All of us are in the same situation Let us all join our efforts to ensure the future, in the interest of building a world that is more just, offers greater equality and is more stable." The outcome of the latest British elections demonstrates what this policy has produced.

It seems that in Western Europe more and more governing parties, and not solely the social democratic parties, must reckon with the fact that their own election pledges are difficult to fulfill, and that they are able to remain in power for only one term of office. This, too, increases political instability, which also the right-wing and extreme-right parties and groups are exploiting.

In several countries it has become apparent that monopoly capital's purified images and extreme-right advocates are exploiting terrorism extensively against the leftists and all progressive forces. The social roots of terrorism may be found in the disintegration of the capitalist system's social structure; its important characteristic is that it is appearing less and less in its true color, the white of the right wing, rather it masks itself in red. The rise in terrorism is noticeable particularly in Italy, Spain and Turkey.

The attitude of Western government circles to terrorism is ambiguous. On the one hand they regard it as intolerable, because often also the representatives of power become the victims of the terrorist attacks, and also because the terrorism paralyzes the functioning of the given political system's institutions and government organs. Under the pretext of curbing terrorism, on the other hand, Western government circles are willing to adopt measures that aid the right-wing or extreme-right forces; such measures help to frighten the masses and keep them in check, and to introduce repressive legislation against the actual revolutionary forces. They exploit the fact that the political crimes and murders--which the terrorists often commit under ultraleftist slogans--create an atmosphere in which even the masses respond favorably to such right-wing slogans as "order must be created," "a firm hand is needed," and even democratic and constitutional rights must be limited. They utilize the acts of terrorism to discredit the truly leftist parties and organizations, the communists in particular, and to launch a broad offensive against them.

A shift to the right is clearly discernible in the policies of several large governing or oppositionary bourgeois parties: the Conservatives in England, the Christian Democrats in Italy, and the Democratic Social Center (CDS) in Portugal. It is likewise a fact that the right wing gained ground in several Western European elections, and in the elections to the European Parliament in particular. (It should be noted, however, that this is less true of local elections where the voters are familiar with the candidates, know whom they are voting for, and where anticommunist propaganda is the least effective.)

The communist parties note these phenomena and analyze them. They do not adopt the standpoint that the gains of peace and progress rule out in principle a shift to the right, rather they start out from the realization that a shift to the right can be forestalled and opposed. Therefore the communist parties--without underestimating the interparty negotiations and compromises, and without curtailing their efforts in the election campaigns--are devoting more attention than before to direct, everyday, persistent and differentiated political work among the masses, to forging the unity of the democratic forces; particularly significant within this is joint action with the socialists. At the same time it is obvious that the facts of a shift to the right within the individual countries and parties must not be viewed in themselves, rather they are indications of the increased international coordination of imperialist policy. This, too, is an objective factor that prompts the individual revolutionary detachments to coordinate their activity.

Naturally the most important prerequisite for the realization of a political program is that the conditions necessary for the pursuit of a determined policy must actually be realized in struggle against the bourgeoisie. Any political concept or strategy can become social practice and reality only in class struggle against the class enemy, against the domestic bourgeoisie and international imperialism.

In the developed situation it is understandable that the fraternal parties operating in the capitalist countries of Europe want to develop further and to formulate more accurately their standpoints in certain areas. One such area is the struggle for peace and disarmament.

The question of war and peace is integrally linked with the struggle for democracy and socialism. This relationship is as old as the working-class movement. In our time--essentially since the development of the multitude of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems--the struggle against war is not simply a part of the political struggle for democracy and socialism. Much more is involved at present. Modern military technology means that mankind can destroy itself several times over. Political struggle against war under these circumstances is also a necessary prerequisite for the struggle for democracy and socialism, because a thermonuclear war could destroy entire nations and continents, and it could mean the end to present-day civilization.

The communist parties see this danger, but they also see the opportunities. On the one hand imperialism, true to its essential nature, is striving to maintain military tension, is intensifying the arms race by developing ever-newer means of mass destruction. On the other hand the working-class movement, likewise true to its essential nature, opposes these objectives against mankind; jointly with the other political forces of society, the working-class movement can successfully oppose the policy of war and can fight against the arms race, in favor of disarmament.

The joint documents of the communist parties' many significant international consultations provide a program for the struggle for peace and disarmament. Obviously one of the most complicated requirements for the fraternal parties of Western Europe today is that they coordinate their domestic efforts demanded by the class struggle, the realization of their programs that sum up their domestic tasks, with the requirements of peaceful coexistence, the tasks of the international revolutionary process with the struggle for peace and disarmament. The Communist World Conference in 1969, and the Berlin Conference of the European Communist and Worker Parties in 1976 provided a clear interpretation for this task and outlined the mode of its realization. In the joint document adopted in Berlin, the 29 participating fraternal parties stated: "The policy of peaceful coexistence, active cooperation among countries independently of their social systems, and international detente are in accord with the interests of all nations as well as with the progress of entire mankind, . . . will create the best conditions . . . for the struggle against the domination of monopolies, for the struggle to achieve socialism." In agreement with this standpoint,

the Berlin Conference adopted a very significant action program to overcome the obstacle to detente, to ensure the progress of this process, to curb the arms race and military confrontation, and to promote the cause of disarmament.

In practice it nevertheless seems that we in Europe are still lagging in the actions for the joint realization of this realistic and necessary program. Admittedly the political campaign against the neutron bomb was one of the most significant and most successful political campaigns since World War II, and it forced the advocates of this destructive weapon to retreat temporarily. But it is likewise true that the plan to introduce the neutron bomb in Western Europe is now being revived, and that the leading military organs of NATO, under American direction, wish to introduce in Western Europe also a series of long-range missiles. Thus it is also true that there is no cause for self-complacency when larger masses are demonstrating in Western Europe against nuclear power plants, the peaceful uses of atomic energy, than against nuclear weapons. Three years ago the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Worker Parties adopted a good program, but we believe that it is in our common interest to exert more effort than up to now for the realization of this program, for strengthening our unity of action against the imperialists.

Integrally related to this is the idea that regardless of what road to socialism a country chooses, its fate in our time will be determined increasingly by the international conditions and circumstances. The maintenance of peaceful international relations is in the primary interest of the revolutionary forces: so that the transformation of society may occur in the relatively most favorable situation, and also to provide the reactionary military forces the least possible opportunity for exporting counter-revolution, for flagrant interference and intervention. Therefore it is important to unmask such centers of militarism as NATO, a hotbed of the armament race and of reactionary changes. Today NATO is one of the driving forces of the armament race on our continent; by its military-political activity it is undermining the foundations of detente, and in the final outcome it is also thwarting the official policies of those member nations that are striving to maintain and develop peaceful coexistence.

Cooperation for peace and social progress, and the concerted actions against the armament race constitute a living and natural link that not only does not require the cessation of debate on other questions, but makes increasingly possible the clarification of live questions and newly arising problems, in calm, constructive and comradely debates, enabling us to draw appropriate conclusions from our joint analyses. In conjunction with the problem of dictatorship and democracy, for example, there have arisen at present three questions that are of importance to the international communist movement from the viewpoint of both theory and practice: the attitude to the capitalist countries' bourgeois democratic institutions, suitable evaluation of the socialist countries' political practice, and appraisal of the present international conditions.

All three questions were discussed in detail at the international scientific conference held in Tihany in April of this year, sponsored by BEKE ES SZOCIALIZMUS, the joint periodical of the communist and worker parties, and by the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party. At the conference, in our opinion, the debate on the interrelations of revolution and democracy was very timely. From the very beginning the communist movement has inscribed on its banner the ideals of true democracy, and today this movement has an opportunity--a greater opportunity than ever before--to place these ideals in the service of the working class, of the cause of the workers. But to what the conferees established about this opportunity, they immediately added that this opportunity was also a necessity, because increasing efforts were being made in the sharp international ideological struggle to use the slogan of democracy against the working class and its party.

Although there are significant differences in approach that stem from the differences in the situation within the individual parties and in the conditions of their countries, a consensus nevertheless developed in Tihany that bourgeois democracy provided a suitable terrain for the struggle of the revolutionary working-class movement. In the interest of achieving the class objectives of the working class, the communist parties must utilize the opportunities stemming from the bourgeois democratic conditions, but in the final outcome the process of revolution means the surpassing of bourgeois democracy. Socialist revolution attains a higher level of democracy, imparting a new meaning to this concept; after all the power of the working class is based on a broad alliance, on the masses, and the transfer of the basic means of production to socialist ownership and the implementation of the principles of social justice open up unprecedented opportunities. With the execution of socialist revolution, democracy exceeds its earlier limits and becomes an integral part of all areas of life, including also the political, economic and intellectual spheres.

These fraternal parties clearly realize also that very many questions have yet to be answered regarding the future--about which there are differences of opinion even within the individual parties--and that in the final outcome only life, only revolutionary practice, can provide these answers. Such questions, for example, are the following: to what extent is it possible to utilize in the process of society's transformation certain elements of the bourgeois democratic political superstructure; to what extent can social reforms pave the way for radical transformation; what are the characteristics of the peaceful road to socialism, and what are the interrelations of power in its individual stages. It is of course still impossible at present to provide exact answers to questions of this type, but this fact cannot obscure the great positive significance of comradely debate in approaching theoretical questions. And in any case the debate does not allow us to forget that on which there is consensus: the communists, if it were up to them, would prefer to achieve all the objectives of the working class--hence even the assumption of power--peacefully if possible, by political means.

All the conferees likewise agreed that not the formal characteristics but the essence, the content, had to be investigated when evaluating the conditions in the socialist countries, the assertion of civil rights and of democracy. Obviously related to this policy of development is the fact that at the Tihany Conference several representatives of fraternal parties functioning in nonsocialist countries spoke with appreciation about the international significance of developing socialist democracy. They emphasized that we have reached the threshold of an era in which new strata can come to the realization that the fulfillment of democracy is unimaginable without socialism, that socialism is the system which provides a new dimension for the development of democracy.

Naturally the formation of socialist democracy's system of institutions is by no means complete, and the further expansion of the content will be the outcome of a long historical process. But already the experience to date has attracted increasing interest. The socialist countries' experience, including that of our country, was received with interest also in Tihany: the conferees saw in it the formation of a political system capable of ensuring in everyday practice the interests of the working classes and strata, of the individual workers, the assertion of the rights defined in the constitution and other legislation, and thereby capable of development and growth.

The debate of the participating communist scientific experts at the Tihany Conference took place in a frank, sincere, friendly and comradely atmosphere; even the opposing views were presented tactfully, with mutual appreciation and friendship. The most important lesson of the conference is that debate conducted in the spirit of responsibility, mutual respect and trust can lead theoretically to exceptionally useful conclusions, and in practice to the recognition of the need for cooperation.

The significance of the communist and worker parties' joint theoretical conference is very great. Today every fraternal party of the world communist movement develops its strategy and tactics equally and independently. But this--as János Kadar pointed out at the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Worker Parties--lends special significance to the joint theoretical utilization of practical experience gained nationally. Our scientific world outlook--which is neither a collection of theses nor a closed doctrine, rather a live and developing science--is able to develop further in this manner, through the comparison, reconciliation and theoretical generalization of the collective experience. The high-level and constructive debate at the Tihany Conference, which analyzed the important theoretical questions of democracy in conjunction with present-day international reality, likewise served this purpose.

The communists are guided by basically common principles and linked by common objectives, regardless of what specific conditions they work under and what immediate tasks they are trying to solve. In Europe this statement has been confirmed particularly during the past three years. Depending on the

differences in our situation and in the conditions of our struggle, there may be differences of opinion among us on certain questions, but peace and socialism are our common program in the struggle that we are simultaneously waging nationally as well as internationally. Our common objectives coincide with the aspirations of entire progressive mankind, conform to the direction of universal human progress. Therefore our struggle is necessarily combined with the struggle of the widest popular masses. This is why the standpoint of every fraternal party on the great questions of our time is of particular significance. We are responsible to the immediate and the distant future, to the present and coming generations, for the realization of our opportunities, for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and in the entire world, for the continuation of social progress.

1014

CSO: 2500

SURVIVAL AT ALL COSTS GOAL OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS

Budapest IFJUSAGI MAGAZIN in Hungarian No 9, Sep 79 p 9

[Text] Is there anyone, even among the middle aged, who does not recall the popular or less popular child's game of Number War? In my memory it lives as a truly captivating, all-absorbing game. I pictured myself as a bit brave, a bit heroic. I felt real excitement, real "battle" anxiety during each game. Although I was often among the fallen and found myself on the losing team, this did not damp my enthusiasm; these were the risks of the battle.

Recently I participated in a game of Number War played by members of a secondary school. I was playing on the team of the defenders. The old excitement reawakened in me; when I spotted the "enemy" my pulse quickened. "Let's go," I thought to myself and studied features of the battlefield, the bushes and mounds which would serve as cover for my movements. However, after a time, I no longer understood what was happening. The attack came to a halt; the "soldiers" hid behind trees; most of them made no move at all. Other covered the numbers on their foreheads with their arms and moved forwards cautiously like that. The game came to a standstill. Why?

Then I understood. The teenage boys and girls were simply afraid. They were not concerned with probable victory but with mere personal survival. Therefore, they considered all risk senseless and vain. They must have been thinking if they did nothing, they would survive. They were afraid.

Weeks ago I received a letter from P. P., a secondary school acquaintance of mine. He was in his fourth year at a gymnasium of good reputation in a small Transdanubian town. His letter described a rather sad event: They, the guys - or the KISZ leaders if you like--had thought up a whole-day program which promised to be interesting and exciting in celebration of a social festival. They began organizing it with enthusiasm; this is precisely the spirit which is most lacking nowadays among youth.

Then, suddenly and without any particular explanation, the renowned director of the school, a recipient of many academic honors, called the entire program off. Although some of the youngsters tried to reason with

him, he remained adamant: He said: "Let us stick by the old, proven format; everything in it can be calculated in advance; no risks are involved." And he warned the KISZ leaders not to make an issue of it or it would be the worse for them. P. P. concluded his letter: "You know, I thought at first that I should write all this up for some newspaper. After all, it was an outrageous injustice. Then I realized that I would only defeat myself. I must graduate from gymnasium and continue my studies; I fear the consequences. I beg you, too, to make no issue of it, because we would get our fingers burned.

You understand, don't you?"

Another letter I received was written by B. E. He asks me to forget what he recently reported to me, or more precisely, not to go to his school, not to investigate the matter which made us both so indignant at the time: Namely, the director of the school (also renowned and much decorated) terminated the "vertical" structure of KISZ which included all age groups in his school and reverted to KISZ basic units by grade. He did this with the approval of the faculty but not of the students. He justified the return to "one basic organization for each grade," by claiming that this made it easier for the teachers to exercise tighter supervision over what the students were doing in the basic organizations and thus get a better overview of the situation as a whole. According to B. E., the school's KISZ organization was one of the regrettably few secondary school organizations in which students of different ages enjoyed themselves, in which the basic organizations became a community. None of the student leaders of KISZ dared to object. Who knows what the consequences of expressing an opinion might be. At that time B. E. and I agreed that I would visit the school and attempt to help in the reestablishment of the students rights. And then came the letter urging me to do nothing. "You may feel that I am a coward for being unwilling to stand up officially for what I told you. I admit that I am truly afraid, also ashamed. But please understand: the moment you set foot out of the school, I will be left there to face the music any way they choose to play it. And I would like to graduate in peace and continue my studies. That's why I prefer to keep mum and admit that I'm a coward. Perhaps you will understand."

I was discussing school affairs with a few students at a KISZ camp for students from secondary schools. To describe their mood in a phrase, it was one of dissatisfaction. They complained that they were not permitted to have independent opinions, that they were allowed no input into anything, that they are at the mercy of their teachers in everything. They said that there were exceptions, of course, a few teachers who would understand and listen to them, but such teachers had little influence on the faculty. I tried to persuade them to consider: it is possible that the students have the wrong slant on matters, that teachers and adults mean well and would like students to learn as much as possible at school. I tried to explain that serious work requires discipline and that, obviously they [students] were no angels. They acknowledged this but could not understand--

no more than I can--why adults cling to stereotypes, formalities, superficialities which are totally alien to teenagers. They fail to understand, quite naturally, why they should not be permitted to think, too, why they can't express their opinions of the things that happen to them every day.

I listened to them for a while and then asked: "If all this is true, why don't you speak up when you have a chance to speak? At class meetings, student parliaments, KISZ meetings? Or even via the school paper or school radio.

The response was a deafening silence. Tolerant, resigned half smiles appeared on their faces. I could see the question in their eyes: "What world are you living in?" Since they remained mute, I involuntarily asked, "Are you afraid?"

Another silence. Then a boy who had said not a word yet said, averting his eyes, "I can speak only for myself. Yes, I'm afraid."

"But of what are you afraid?"

"I don't want to discuss it," he answered.

What types of experiences can produce such a wall of silence? I felt compelled to persist. "Why don't you tell us? Don't you trust us either?" With great reluctance and with head still averted, he said that he had posed a question at a political debate group, a question which the teacher in charge of the debate group felt was out of line, and the teacher made a "political issue" of it in the school. The boy said, "I was only asking, because there was something I didn't understand, and instead of getting an answer I was nearly kicked out of school. Since then, I keep my mouth shut." Involuntarily, I asked, "What school do you go to?" "Don't be offended, but I won't answer that."

Of course; why should he tell me? I might go there and the whole affair might be raked up again.

The others listened tensely to our dialogue. Then, interrupting one another they affirmed that they had every reason to be afraid. They spoke of student hostel directors who used informers, of teachers' reprisals after student parliament discussions. A whole avalanche of complaints was set in motion.

I left the table musing. I had heard opinions some of which were surely exaggerated. However, the fear of punishment for telling the truth lurks in all of them: it is an actual phenomenon. What can I say to them? Tell them to read the sections on rights and duties in the rules for secondary school students? The teachers are thoroughly familiar with these themselves. So?

I began to toy with an idea. What if I wrote another article beginning: "Recently I had the chance to participate in a game of Number War. Both attackers and defenders were adults, including teachers." Then I would continue: "The game was very interesting and remains so today. We all lie hidden behind trees and cover our numbers. What if we manage to survive?"

CS0: 2500

'CONVERGENCE' OF U.S., PRC INTERESTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw PAP in English 1321 GMT 5 Oct 79 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Oct, PAP--China is striving for more than just a most favoured nation clause in trade with the United States. China is interested in obtaining the status of the most favoured partner of the United States in respect of policy and strategy which would almost automatically guarantee economic benefits, the daily TRYBUNA LUDU writes.

Declarations and pledges made by Vice-President Mondale seem to indicate that the amplitude of U.S. plans has come closer to Chinese desires, though it is too early to guess in what a degree they will be fulfilled.

The United States has strategic interests "parallel" to those of Chinese leaders in activities strategically burdening the Soviet Union. Washington's ruling circles believe that they can benefit from tensions created by China on the Soviet borders. But the very same circles feel also disturbed at the thought of Chinese preparations for another aggression on Vietnam threatening with perturbations and risk that the U.S. would rather like to avoid.

The manifesting of convergencies with China by President Carter's administration precisely at this time should not be ascribed exclusively to reasons related to forthcoming elections although the presentation of Carter's visit to Beijing as a political success is surely envisaged in the programme of election campaign, TRYBUNA LUDU points out.

Nonetheless, the exchange of ambassadors as well as Chinese and American top level trips are stimulating the policy of U.S. allies on the Beijing direction. The United States does not intend, however, to yield its lead to anybody else while the desire to act as a coordinator vis-a-vis Japan and Western Europe urges the USA to greater efforts.

CSO: 2020

POLAND

BRIEFS

POPE, UN EMPLOYEE--Pope John Paul II promised that he would do everything which he can to render assistance to Alicja Wesolowska, a UN official who was arrested in Warsaw 53 days ago and accused of espionage. The matter of Wesolowska was taken up with the Holy Father by Lowell Flanders, leader of the UN workers union. As we have already informed our readers, Wesolowska was arrested while she was on her way from New York to Mongolia, where she had received a new position. Flanders spoke with the Pope during a reception given by UN Secretary General Waldheim. [Text] [London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 4 Oct 79 p 1]

AMBASSADOR MEETS ROMANOV--Moscow (PAP)--While staying in Leningrad on a visit, Kazimierz Olszewski, the ambassador of the PRL in the USSR, was received by Grigoriy Romanov, CPSU Central Committee Political Bureau member and first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 79 p 2]

CSO: 2600

DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM UNDER SOCIALISM

Development of Socialist Society

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 79 pp 34-36

[Article by Theodor Manescu]

[Text] In connection with the discussion published in ERA SOCIALISTA No 14, 1979 on the subject "Dynamics of the Political System in Romania in the Process of Socialist Construction," the editors have received some comments differing with the views expressed in the said discussion. To be sure this is the way to broaden knowledge and to bring out the constructive features of the dialog of ideas, but these comments convey views, hypotheses or arguments that are debatable in their turn, and the editors are publishing them as such and as part of the necessary exchange of opinions that should characterize any discussion.

The interesting discussion of the dynamics of the political system in Romania, reported in our party's theoretical journal ERA SOCIALISTA (No 14, 1979), is food for thought about the transition from capitalism to socialism and especially about the problems and prospects of the advance toward communism.

"Our political system is a living organism in a state of change....," one of the speakers (Constantin Mocanu) quite rightly said, and rightly because socialism as the entirety of social systems including the socialist political system (or rather subsystem) is not and cannot be changeless but, on the contrary, is constantly and ceaselessly changing. "Nothing exists unless it is at odds with itself." (Brecht)

Socialism itself is not only a result but also a cause, a basis for something else, and a continuous, unending process that is self-regulating but subject not only to pragmatically necessary correctives but also to internal changes constantly brought about by the conflict between the new and the old and the action of the law of unity and the conflict of opposites.

As Marx said in "Critique of the Gotha Program," socialism does not arise on its own basis but on a capitalist basis, and therefore it bears "the stamp of

capitalism" in every respect, "economic, political and spiritual." But it is also a process that produces and contains the seeds of communism.

The idea that socialism has not yet fully asserted its good points, the determination of the objective of building the fully developed socialist society, the forecast of its essential features, the promotion of the principles of self-management and independent economic administration, and the compilation of the code of socialist ethics and justice, all these and more represent a brilliant, creative development of the Marxist view of socialism as a first stage, below communism, and an invaluable contribution to the solution of the problems of phasing the transition to communism.

In describing, in the course of the subject discussion, an essential feature of the dynamics of our political system, another speaker (Ovidiu Trasnea) said, "In the presence of class antagonisms the relationships of the leaders to the led, whereby society is governed or managed, represent not only a 'technical fact,' an expression of the social division of labor, but also a division into social groups in the form of opposition. But the evolutionary trend of these relationships under the socialist revolution in Romania was that of resolving the traditional opposition between the governing and the governed, the leaders and the led. At the principle of the people's sole, sovereign and complete power was implemented, the workers were enlisted in the real management of public affairs."

We must agree with this formulation (with one reservation we shall make below), especially since almost all the discussion is guided by the theory of the dynamics of the state formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu at the Plenum of the Party Central Committee on 4 July 1979: "Let us realize that the theory of disappearance of the state does not mean its abolition at a particular time but the formation of a system whereby the masses participate in social activity and assume their responsibility for social management... The fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism are out of the question without constant change in the state structure and constantly growing participation of the masses in social management."

The present methods of implementing the people's power were cogently described (by Ioan Ceterchi) in the discussion: "We cannot be content with defining the state merely as a mechanism whereby the people's power is exercised. As we see, the power is implemented through a broader social mechanism, while the state's functions are performed with the aid not only of the state organs strictly speaking but also of the political organizations, especially those of the party as the political leader, and with the aid of the mass and public organizations, that of other social bodies and, of course, that of the citizens in increasingly varied forms."

History has traversed many stages since Lenin analyzed the state, and communist conceptions of the state have been enriched in close connection with the assertion of revolutionary humanism and the principles of socialist democracy. Certainly the socialist state can no longer be defined merely as a "bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie, or socialist law as "bourgeois law without the

bourgeoisie." For example, what is the code of socialist ethics and justice and its enforcement but the criticism the future communist makes of the present?

The speakers did not confine themselves to describing the present realities but also tried to forecast some future trends. This is also a merit of this discussion, especially in the light of Nicolae Ceausescu's conception of the function of the social sciences and of science in general, a conception so often stated, and restated with special emphasis at the recent plenum of the Central Committee, to the effect that true science cannot be content with mere repetition of what others have said or done but must explore and foresee the future.

In trying to envisage some trends of the future dynamics of our political system, another speaker (Aurelian Cosmachi) said, "The institutions and organizations that were formed as class instruments will curtail their activity, and in communism they will cease it, but not before they have exhausted their historical mission in the present period." And after pointing out that "The problem of the disappearance of some institutions and mass organizations in communism, especially the political ones, has been and is much disputed," he went on to say, "Of course the disappearance of political institutions in communism does not mean the disappearance of any functions of social organization or management. As the RCP Program indicates, in communism the state will become more and more an organism for organizing and managing all socioeconomic activity and for regulating social relations, with a hierarchy of social organisms under it with the mission of organizing, managing and planning production and all social activity and of securing distribution according to communist principles.. Of course it is difficult to try to describe at present the institutions and organizations that will function in communism... All these organizations, together with the institutions of communist society that will comprise the system of social management, will form a hierarchy and will divide their functions and powers on organizational principles imposed by communist society."

Of course these statements, being hypotheses, cannot be contradicted or supplemented for the time being except by other hypotheses. Undoubtedly, communist experience alone will confirm, supplement or refute them. But I think their limited and limiting character is already apparent, because even now in socialism, in the first stage of communism, the state is becoming more and more an organism for organizing and managing all socioeconomic activity and for regulating social relations. The state is now organizing, managing and planning production, and it is securing distribution not on the principles of communism, to be sure, but on those of socialism. The organizations and institutions are hierarchic in form, and they divide their functions and powers, etc. Then is there no difference between socialism and communism? In the crucial problem of the transition to communism, that of the state, is there no change?

The problem is of so great theoretical and practical importance that such hypotheses reducing communism to socialism cannot be accepted without critical examination.

Of course it is difficult at present to describe the institutions of communism and their functions. In the attempt to describe them and how they will reproduce the institutions of today, we even find a favorable note, namely the conviction that communist society will not be an anarchic society but a better organized one. And it is true that the RCP Program theorizes, among other things, that "There will be no dividing wall between socialism and communism." But this does not mean that we are forgetting Lenin's hypothesis that "Politically speaking, the distance between socialism and communism will probably be enormous in the long run."

Socialism arose on a capitalist basis and contains the seeds of communism. Therefore communism will not be an absolute denial of socialism but a dialectical denial, a higher level of social development that will have all the advantages of socialism but will not be confined to them. It is accordingly clear that in relation to capitalism, socialism represents the new and it is to be defended, supported, consolidated and developed as such. But in relation to communism, an "old socialist" also appears and gradually becomes more conspicuous.

Let us consider, for example, the nature of state ownership as that of the entire people and the threefold capacity of the worker as producer, owner and beneficiary as he has been quite rightly defined. While the worker's capacities as a producer and as a beneficiary of his own labor are conveyed to him through his senses and consciousness by material and therefore recognizable signs that are intensive and frequent enough to convince him entirely and immediately that he is a producer and a beneficiary of his labor, no such signs entirely convey to him his capacity of co-owner of socialist property. The latter has not yet been completely visualized.

To be sure self-management, independent economic administration, and intensified economic and socialist democracy are clearly effective ways, of great theoretical and practical value, to overcome the above-mentioned contradiction. But in making decisions and in this area too society still has a long way to go, because competent decisions require long experience and a whole series of disciplines.

The transition from socialism to communism, or the advance toward communism, also entails other problems, in the areas of economic growth, growth of labor productivity, increased leisure time, participation of the masses in management of the state and society, the hierarchy of state structures, etc.

It is a well-known fact that the so-called "consumer societies" have created artificial, superfluous needs in addition to the real, normal ones, that they have battered on the cheap energy resources of others and waste of the world's energy and raw material resources, and that they have contributed essentially to the present ecological imbalance and the energy crisis. Socialism and communism call for scientifically substantiated consumption, complete satisfaction of people's real needs and not their artificial ones, correlation of growth with demographic evolution while maintaining and consolidating the ecological balance and the balance between the world's resources and consumption, and

equality of all nations' economic growth. Socialism and communism are to obtain a labor productivity growth greater than that of capitalism, but not by wasting the resources our planet (or nation) offers us or by destroying the ecological balance or the balance between resources and consumption. The most rational of all systems, socialism demonstrates its superiority not only by providing for present welfare but especially by securing a normal future for mankind, by virtue of its high sense of responsibility for the future of every people and all mankind. I think the object of making Romania a country with a medium level in the next few years and then an economically advanced country as soon as possible is to be understood in connection with all these problems of general economic growth. The Draft Directives for the 12th Party Congress contain the Romanian communists' original solutions to all these problems.

To be sure the present "division of labor" between the leaders and the led had a class character (and still has in capitalist societies), but under socialism it is becoming more and more a "technical fact." But under this formulation there is no escape from the fact that it is a source of alienation, among other things. Yet communism is supposed to be a society of disalienation wherein man is restored to his own human nature.

Of course labor will never be free of coercion, an objective coercion imposed by the problems of organization and cooperation and by all the demands of "social labor" and "socialized labor." This does not mean that labor is not or cannot be free. But conversion of labor from working to survive to working for pleasure requires a maximum of creativity in every field of labor and a minimum of routine and monotony. Labor converted to creation is a source of pleasure, and pleasure can only be free.

Furthermore, more leisure time will enhance every worker's competence in decision making and in management of the enterprise, commune, city and state, including that of distribution, circulation and profitability of the surplus product. By rotation, each one can and will be "leader" and "led," a member of various assemblies, representative councils and associations for control, defense of group interests and prosperity, an administrator, town councilor, judge, defender of civic order, artist, painter, athlete etc. The system of "delegates" by rotation will predominate.

I do not consider it sufficient to say that the structures of communism will also be hierarchic. We should say what is essential, namely that every man capable of it can and will be both leader and led in rotation and, in some cases he will be led in one field and leader in another at one and the same time.

I feel these are the seeds of communism that the party secretary general consistently encourages as an authentic exponent of the new and the nation's communist future, thus providing the new generations with an all-inclusive ideal. Communism is incompatible with any statist-technocratic or statist-bureaucratic formula.

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 79 p 36

[Article by Vasile Carjaliu, activist on the Dolj County Party Committee]

[Text] The extended scope of purposeful and organized social action and the complexity of the tasks and aims of socialist and communist construction, together with the high growth rates produced by the mobilization of all the people's creative powers and energies, are increasing the importance of the politician in our society and making greater demands upon the elements who manage, regulate and integrate our entire social system.

The evolution of our political system is unquestionably in the direction of communist self-management. We have already created the models of the first organisms on the macrosocial and microsocial levels that constitute the embryo of communist self-management, to be perfected in every stage traversed. But the ultimate achievement of this leap in our social development entirely depends upon improvement of the masses' awareness, which makes it possible to create these organisms characteristic of communist society on a general basis. As the RCP Program says on this subject, "Socialist democracy will develop as the workers' training and competence are improved and the scope of their knowledge and their ideological and political awareness are broadened."

Once his awareness is intensified, every individual's sense of responsibility for the general interests of society is heightened in direct proportion. As it says in the RCP Program, "It is only by enhancing the awareness of every member of society, by perfecting participation and by heightening personal responsibility for the community's general interests that we shall achieve the higher, communist form of social management by the masses and the people's self-determination of their history."

Therefore constant improvement of the masses' awareness is one of the ways to develop socialist democracy and to perfect the political system in its evolution toward communist self-management. It is not by chance that our party regards formation and development of awareness as basic aims of building the fully developed socialist society and that all political and cultural-educational forces are concentrated upon their achievement.

In addition to eradicating the remnants of bourgeois ideology from people's consciousness, preventing elements from the former exploiting classes found at various levels of the social hierarchy from spreading the backward attitudes of these classes, and checking the penetration of harmful foreign ideas through certain channels, the present stage requires measures to combat and eliminate the disturbances still caused in our society by individualism, nepotism, favoritism, and the attempts of some to secure their incomes without working, to the detriment of the general interests of the community.

I think even the accumulation of personal property beyond certain rational limits lowers the level of individual awareness, even if it is legitimately acquired (since society gives some of its members more than they need) and

especially if it is accumulated by those who acquire illicit incomes by stealing public property. In the first place accumulation of personal property beyond reasonable limits tends to distort the consciousness, the objectivity and even the attitude and behavior of the owner, and in the second place it has a very bad effect upon the consciousness of his offspring and of the microcommunities in which he lives and works.

In the political-ideological effort to form and develop the new awareness, it should be remembered that the attitude and behavior of some have been characterized by complacency, dogmatism, arrogance and subjectivism. These people overlook the essential point that socialist society has trained every one of them with its resources and has entrusted him with a position in the social hierarchy not to raise him above it but so that he will understand the necessity of serving the general interests of the masses purposefully and faithfully.

Therefore a sustained political-ideological effort and a dynamic personnel policy designed to check the manifestations of routine and to constantly foster the innovating spirit at work, the resolute struggle against the old, and promotion of the new and of the revolutionary spirit that should characterize the work of all personnel and activists and of our entire party are main objectives for the improvement of the political system in Romania during construction of the fully developed socialist society and preparation for communism. The organisms for communist self-management can be created only with professionally competent personnel with experience in many fields and a high level of awareness, who will understand the social requirements of the era and will act in the general interest.

5186

CSO: 7700

ANNIVERSARY OF OUTBREAK OF WW II COMMEMORATED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 79 pp 41-44, 52

[Article by Sergiu Celac: "Bitter Lessons of History"]

[Text] The period between the two world wars was marked by major changes in the social-political configuration of the world, resulting in new and active factors in the arena of history and new developmental trends. It is primarily a matter of the formation and successful development, after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of the Soviet Union as the first socialist state and the impact of worldwide historical significance which this event had upon the whole world. During this period the organizing power and aggressiveness of the working class in the capitalist countries increased, the capacity of some states formerly under the sole domination of the great powers to assert their independence grew stronger, and the national liberation movement in a number of colonial territories and dependencies began to organize and take on political significance. On the other hand the growing difficulties of the capitalist system in coping with the new realities were made abundantly clear by the profound social-political effects of the great depression at the end of the 1920's and the start of the 1930's. Under these very difficult conditions the reactionary circles of the right in a number of capitalist countries began trying to escape from the situation created by application of measures of force, both internally and in international relations. A number of countries established militaristic, revanchist regimes, and the inhuman ideology of fascism, aggression and war as well as the denial and open violation of the peoples' right to a free and independent existence were elevated to the rank of a state doctrine.

Once installed in power in Germany in 1933, the Nazi, ultrareactionary and chauvinist regime of Adolf Hitler's bloody totalitarian dictatorship, an expression of the most backward trends of imperialism, openly professed a policy of force, dictation, aggression and war, formulating the grasping theory of "living space." This odious policy, aimed at Hitlerite domination of the whole world, led to violation of many nations' sovereignty, to the point of overthrow of national states, genocide against whole populations and nationalities, and acts of mass terror rightly described as crimes against humanity.

After a number of brutal violations of international law and the treaties in force, Hitlerite Germany began a rapid succession of violent interventions and attacks by force of arms, and of course the first victims were the smaller and weaker countries.

And in the years before WW II the fascist plague spread in Europe, seizing political power in Hungary, Italy, Portugal, Bulgaria and Spain, while in the other part of the world, in Japan, a militaristic regime with blatant aggressive tendencies was installed.

It cannot be said that there were no alarm signals or that the democratic, progressive forces and clear minds did not warn of the awful dangers looming on the horizon in advance. In fact, even the fascist groups had announced their intentions from the start with amazing frankness, as well as the methods planned to carry them out.

The irresponsible complacency of the governments of the great West European powers was transformed to complicity in this period by the conclusion of the capitulating Munich Accords in September 1938, registering the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. The peace "for a generation" proudly announced on this occasion by the British prime minister Chamberlain was soon to become the Calvary of a whole generation. The crucial years of 1938-1939 were marked by a series of facts constituting a scathing indictment of the obtuse laxity of the statesmen and political forces who preferred to temporize and to say "perhaps" when it was necessary to say a definite "no" to Hitlerite aggression. Obviously one of the basic reasons of the West European politicians in the period just before the outbreak of the war was the hope of diverting the expansionist aims of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy to Eastern Europe and bringing about an exhausting conflict of large proportions and long duration between them and the Soviet Union. The uncertainty was also aggravated by the U.S. government's ambiguous position in this period.

The aggressive tendencies of the powers of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis were encouraged and even stimulated by the absence of any clear, comprehensive view of the predictable development of the situation, inability to draw the necessary conclusions from a number of otherwise obvious facts, irresponsible cultivation of pious wishes and empty illusions, and the invocation, for narrow purposes contrary to any elementary political or human morality, of the reason of state for concluding some dubious transactions which, moreover, proved ultimately ineffective.

The conciliatory policy inaugurated by the odious Munich agreement and followed by other attempts of the governing circles in the West to evade or at least postpone a denouement that appeared increasingly evident and inevitable by resorting to unilateral concessions to the expansionist insolence of fascism, usually at the expense of the vital interests, independence and territorial integrity of smaller and weaker states, was to reveal its bankruptcy very soon.

The many works on the political and military history of the war have recently advanced new judgments to explain in depth the social mechanisms of the rise

of fascism and the historical context wherein it evolved and succeeded in carrying out its aggressive intentions in a first phase. For it is a fact that the doctrine and practice of fascism took root and developed on ground favorable to concessions and tolerance that are difficult to understand today, and they were encouraged and supported directly or tacitly by influential Western economic and political circles obsessed with anticommunism. And it is equally true that until Hitlerite Germany's plans for domination and aggression were tangibly confirmed by the course of events, the formation of a common front to oppose the danger of war was long impeded by mutual suspicions and resentments, excessive temporizing and interminable diplomatic maneuvers on the part of some leading circles in England and France, the lack of firmness and unity of the European and other states in the face of the aggressive policy of German imperialism, and finally the structural weaknesses of the League of Nations.

Undoubtedly the unfavorable course of events in this period was aggravated by the disunity and instability of the labor movement and sterile disagreements and polemics and mutual accusations and recriminations between communists and socialists, often fostered by misleading slogans and directives from abroad that were contrary to the basic interests of the common opposition to fascism and the war. The aggressive Nazi policy was not met in time with the definite answer of all the antifascist political and social forces, which could have blocked the spread of the brown plague by united action and prevented the outbreak of the great world conflagration.

Nazi Germany's aggression against Poland precipitated events, which took on the character of a chain reaction. In the spring of 1940 Hitlerite Germany attacked and occupied Norway and Denmark in turn and then Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and France. One year later it opened the Balkan campaign, resulting in the occupation of Yugoslavia and Greece and the enslavement of Bulgaria and Rumania. In the summer of 1941 Germany attacked the Soviet Union in violation of the nonaggression treaty concluded in 1939. The United States entered the war in December 1941, after the Japanese attack upon its naval base at Pearl Harbor. The conflagration thus assumed worldwide proportions.

The great conflict of forces, unprecedented in history, was not to end until 1945, with the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany on 8 May and that of militarist Japan on 2 September. The decisive part in the final victory was played by the Soviet Union, the country that bore the brunt of the war in the extent of its front and forces engaged, sacrificed the most lives, and contributed the most to Nazi Germany's defeat. An important part was also played by the other powers of the UN coalition, chiefly the United States, Great Britain and France at the end of the war. A major contribution was also made by the antifascist resistance of the peoples in the occupied European countries, who mobilized extensive patriotic forces. In the case of Yugoslavia it became a very widespread people's war. On the Asian front, the essential role of the Chinese people's war of liberation should be noted, as well as the resistance of other peoples victimized by the aggression of Japanese militarism. In the heat of the great battle against fascism the communists alongside other democratic and labor forces distinguished themselves by their ardent

patriotism. They sacrificed much blood and took their places in the first ranks on the battle fronts and in the resistance movements.

The mobilization and widespread participation of the peoples in the fight against fascist and militarist aggression were the main and truly decisive factors in the victory and lent the war a just and liberating character. The deplorable end of the aggressors convincingly proved the invincible power of peoples who wish to live in freedom and independence. It also proved that any state that bases its policy upon purposes of domination and oppression, however strong it may be at any given point, is doomed to ultimate defeat.

It is an occasion for patriotic pride to recall that the workers and the working class in Romania, led by their communist party, were in the first ranks of the peoples' antifascist struggle from the start. The openly antifascist political slogans and demands formulated by the labor movement in Romania in the course of the great revolutionary struggles in 1933 remained a constant of the class battles culminating in the great antifascist and antiwar demonstration on 1 May 1939, conducted very significantly for the time in the name of the workers' unity and the united front of communists and socialists. Under the very difficult conditions of 1938 and 1939, when grave dangers threatened Romania, the RCP and other democratic and progressive forces took a firm stand in defense of our national sovereignty and territorial integrity, resolutely rejected the Munich policy and definitely condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the Nazi aggression against Poland. The history of those years records innumerable examples of the militant solidarity of the labor and democratic movement and the Romanian people with the peoples invaded by fascism and with their fight to regain their national independence and sovereignty.

As we know, Romania's strategic position and important resources, especially petroleum and agricultural products, made it a point of special interest from the start in the Nazi Reich's political maneuvers. These plans were facilitated by the treasonable policy of the reactionary pro-German circles and the repeated evidences of weakness at the top against the arrogance and criminal actions of the Hitlerite agents inside the country and especially against the Iron Guard terrorist organization, an agency of Hitlerite Germany in Romania. Profiting by Romania's international isolation and the vacillations and indecision of the rulers of the time, Nazi Germany employed a wide range of methods of dominating Romania, from economic and political pressures to actual dismemberment of the nation. Imperialist dictation from Vienna and later the entry of German troops into Romania led to its enslavement to the ends of German imperialism, to the establishment of a military dictatorship, and to the involvement of the nation in the anti-Soviet war against the will of its people. In this very difficult period the RCP acted with consistent revolutionary firmness and used a great variety of ways and means of mobilizing all the healthy forces of the nation to form extensive alliances on a common, democratic and antifascist platform and to extricate Romania from the war and align it with the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

After the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in August 1944, Romania together with the Soviet

Union and the other allies in the United Nations played an active part in the final defeat of Nazi Germany. Romania's alliance with the anti-Hitlerite coalition and the participation of the Romanian army, with a complement of more than half a million fighters, in the military operations for the complete liberation of the country as well as that of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria, have been rightly regarded as a major contribution to curtailment of the war and to the final victory. In his speech at the Ceremonial Assembly in Honor of 23 August, Nicolae Ceausescu said in reference to the significance of the events of 35 years ago, "The outbreak of the revolution for social and national liberation in August 1944 inaugurated a new stage of our national history and opened the way to fulfillment of the Romanian people's ideals and hopes for justice and freedom and to Romania's assertion as a free and worthy nation among the nations of the world. The insurrection marked the beginning of extensive social movements of the masses, under the leadership of the working class and the communist party, on behalf of the revolutionary reform of Romanian society."

The passage of four decades since the outbreak of WWII is an occasion for recollection and reflection. The extensive space devoted to recollections of the war in the international press and in various general publications as well as the many monographs and memoirs on this subject evidence a genuine interest in knowing and understanding it. It is a healthy phenomenon, reflecting the more and more widely felt need to act knowledgeably to prevent any recurrence of the past. Clearly history does not repeat itself. Even strikingly similar situations can develop differently and most often do so. In politics historical precedents do not usually give rise to imitative reactions. Yet ignoring the hard lessons of the past, passing over them in silence or deliberately alternating them when they provoke contemporary reactions is more than a crime, it is an error, to revive a once famous adage.

It is essential, now as always, to approach the highly complex problems of mankind's present and future evolution in a realistic and constructive spirit, with creative imagination and political courage. That is why we can no longer tolerate anachronistic phenomena and practices the survival of which is inexplicable and in any case intolerable, and in open contradiction with the new historical conditions and the processes of reform in the modern world. And that is why we must now make a more concerted, more intensive and more consistent effort to eliminate the historical "remnants" as a prerequisite for general progress and a better future. We need today, perhaps more than ever, a critical reappraisal of some concepts of the theory and practice of international relations that have become habitual but are now outmoded, and of some one-sided and subjective approaches once occasioned by momentary interests and wrongly elevated to the rank of objective determinations. The need is that of a comprehensive outlook, shared as widely as possible, and a long-range policy for uniting all the advanced, progressive forces of humanity and for enlisting the masses and the peoples in specific action in their common effort to finally abolish the policy of force and war and to place international relations on a new and truly democratic basis of equality, good will and collaboration.

One area of major interest in this regard is the effort to evaluate the world situation viewed as a whole and the development of a scientific capacity to single out what is important in the course of events and to distinguish among risks those that are most serious, and among favorable factors those that are viable and consistent. The complex and contradictory nature of modern developments makes it necessary to see realistically how and in what direction the component factors in the world balance of power are changing, and what forms are being taken by the opposition of the backward forces, interested in conserving the old situations, and what ways there are of fulfilling all peoples' hopes for peace, security and prosperity.

Such an analysis, made with the tools of dialectical and historical materialism and regularly updated in the light of new facts and trends, brings out the broad confrontation going on in the world of today between the attempt to perpetuate the old practices of the imperialist policy of force, domination, pressure, exploitation and enslavement and, on the other hand, the increasingly strong assertion of the will of the peoples everywhere to do away with this policy, to live in freedom and independence, and to organize a new, democratic and just system for widespread development of their relations and peaceful collaboration on a worldwide scale. The great processes of reform that have now included all international affairs and the rapid changes that have taken place in the disposition of the social-political forces and in the way they formulate and promote their interests are accompanied by a general aggravation of the contradictions and a revival and intensification of the attempts to divide the world into spheres of influence and dominance and to resort to the practices of the policy of force, and this entails grave dangers to world peace, including the danger of a test of power of global proportions.

But intensive scientific analysis of the specific facts leads to the conclusion that this danger is neither imminent nor inevitable. The decades that have passed since the victorious conclusion of the anti-Hitlerite war have been marked by great revolutionary, social and national reforms and major changes in the balances of power in the world arena in favor of the forces of progress, freedom and peace. The transformation of socialism into a vast force of modern times, the emergence of a great many new independent states, and the growth of the revolutionary, progressive and democratic movements in all quarters of the globe are affecting the whole evolution of the world more and more intensively. Under these new conditions, the peoples and the responsible and sane political forces can forestall a bad turn of events and establish a radical and truly irreversible turning point in the direction of a climate of peace, good will and cooperation among all nations of the world.

There is no question that the process of revolutionary social reform is and always will be accompanied by new forms of social organization and construction, varying from one country to another with the degree of development of the productive forces and with the distinctive historical, social and national characteristics. These facts and trends are also reasons for seeking and applying new models and structures of international relations capable of coping with the growing complexity and diversity of the component elements of the world picture and capable of creating a stable and also sufficiently flexible system

for constructive treatment and just settlement of problems of general interest by democratic means.

In view of the unprecedented dynamism of the facts of experience, the theory of international relations also demands new approaches everywhere which, in the light of the lessons of history and the new developing realities, will produce qualitatively new solutions and alternatives free of the ballast of petrified thought entirely confined to the criteria of force. Despite the bitter lessons of WWII and the fact that experience in the last few decades has provided more and more new evidence that the use of force does not actually solve any problem, political doctrines based on military strategy and lack of confidence in reason and modern man's ability to develop solutions radically different from those of the past sometimes persist on the conceptual level. What is more, a number of theories have proliferated recently in a number of western countries that deliberately foster false premises, as if nothing has changed in the world, obscuring essential contradictions and maintaining the fiction of "permanent inequality" among people and nations, exploitation, and domination by force. This also includes the attempts to rehabilitate some long outdated concepts, as the theorists of the "new right" in Western Europe are doing, or even to exonerate neofascist, chauvinist and racist ideas.

The fact is even more alarming that in addition to these ambitious theories and doctrines, the extreme rightists in various countries are making effective efforts to regroup and play a political role again. New neofascist groups and organizations are springing up and propagating racism, chauvinism and hatred among peoples. In view of the lessons of history, which show how dangerous tolerance of fascism can be, the advanced social forces and the peoples must take the most resolute and aggressive action to check any new rise of fascism and to safeguard the freedom, independence and peace of mankind.

International developments indicate that even now, 35 years after the end of WWII, there are still quite frequent manifestations in the world of the old policy of force, pressure and interference in the internal affairs of other states. There are still hotbeds of discord and conflict, and attempts to impose so-called solutions and settlements from without that are contrary to the basic interests of the peoples. Note also in this connection the recommendations of certain political circles in some western countries to resort to military interventions in the internal affairs of some sovereign states because of the present world crisis in raw materials and energy. These very negative phenomena are seriously jeopardizing the effort toward detente and collaboration, impairing the evolution of international relations, and creating and maintaining sources of discord and suspicion. The experience of history and the requirements of modern development call for decisive action on a worldwide scale to repudiate any attempt to settle international disputes by military means, to finally abolish the policy of force, and to consistently promote peaceful political means of settling international problems.

This is the basis of Romania's steadfast policy of firmly rejecting any act of force in relations among states or any attempt to settle the existing problems by force of arms, however complex or difficult they may be. The many proposals

and stands taken by Romania and its specific contributions, the value of which is widely recognized today, to the promotion of peaceful methods of resolving some highly complex problems attest to this principled policy. With the same sense of responsibility for mankind's peaceful future, Romania has updated and developed its proposal formulated in 1975 recommending entry on the agenda of the session of the UN General Assembly in the fall of this year a special point concerning peaceful settlement of international differences.

The states' commitment, in accordance with the UN Charter and other international documents of universal validity, to renounce the use or threat of force to settle disputes among them must be supplemented and strengthened by practical measures to curtail and gradually eliminate the material instruments of war, namely armed forces and armaments, from human experience. And the present situation is particularly alarming in this respect. The general development of military equipment and especially the appearance and growth of massive stockpiles of nuclear-rocket arms and other weapons of mass destruction have brutally simplified the criteria (political, moral or ideological) for evaluation. It is no longer a question of legal subtleties or fine ethical nuances but of the very survival of human civilization.

Nevertheless the armaments race has gone on and even increased in intensity, by swelling the arsenals of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction to absurd proportions unjustified by any consideration of national security, by perfecting armaments and introducing new and sophisticated systems of modern weapons, and by expanding military competition in more and more new areas of the world. Besides the intrinsic threat to world peace presented by the existence and further accumulation of these vehicles of death and destruction, the armaments race is now an enormous consumer of material resources and investments in intelligence diverted from their proper use to further the economic, social and cultural progress of all peoples. The UNESCO statistics show that the world's military expenditures amount to nearly 8 percent of its gross output compared with the 5 percent spent on education and the 2.5 percent for health protection.

In view of these facts decisive action must be taken to check the armaments race, because in this area declarations of good intentions must be followed up and confirmed by specific facts and by programs for comprehensive disarmament measures, especially for nuclear disarmament. Romania's proposals to various international meetings and negotiating forums, especially the series of measures submitted for discussion to the special session of the UN General Assembly last spring, are distinguished by the gradual approach, broad scope, and realistic nature of the recommendations. At the same time Romania has been receptive to any other constructive proposals and programs for disarmament, however limited.

The necessary conclusions drawn from the bad experience of WW II indicate that it is a historical imperative today to form a broad battle front to promote peaceful, democratic solution of international problems, to firmly introduce and generally apply the principles of full equality of rights, observance of national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs,

and abstention from use or threat of force in relations among states, and to implement every people's right to full mastery of their fate and their national resources and to self-determination with no outside interference.

From this standpoint it is particularly important to build a lasting system of security and collaboration in Europe, a continent that has suffered so many vicissitudes of history and still presents a highly complex and contradictory picture today. Actually, against the general background of intensified international contradictions, it is in Europe, which was the starting point and the main theater of the two great wars of this century, that the effects may be most keenly felt of problems that have not been entirely solved after 35 years, the effects of the division of the continent into opposing military blocs and of the lack of confidence, knowledge and mutual understanding that can provoke irrational reactions and serve as pretexts for interference and pressure, and can perpetuate real dangers to general peace and security.

More than 4 years after the conclusion of the Helsinki Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, we find that a number of problems that should have been resolved long ago are still latent and that not enough has been done to apply the provisions of the Final Act in their entirety and to make new and real progress in all fields of international relations. With an eye to the next general European meeting in Madrid next year, Romania has been active and has advanced many suggestions to lend force and consistency to the processes of détente and development of collaboration, and especially to establish a radical turning point in the direction of effective measures for military disarmament and disarmament, without which no peace or real security in Europe or the world is conceivable.

Strong opposition to the policy of force and domination and to the practitioners of this policy and the effort to achieve disarmament, especially nuclear, and to organize a lasting peace in Europe and the whole world are major and basically important points in the foreign policy pursued by our party and state. Romania's firm, militant attitude toward the basic problems of current international relations (based on the decisions of the 9th, 10th and 11th party congresses, incorporating Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant theoretical and practical contributions) is unalterably opposed to any neutralist trends and those of objectivist-abstract contemplation or fatalistic resignation to the real threats to world peace. On the contrary, it is a policy for the active commitment of the advanced forces of mankind to the historic worldwide effort to check the old imperialist policy of force, domination and dictatorship and to establish a new policy of free collaboration among independent and sovereign states.

The lessons learned from the tragic errors of the past tell us that no effort is too great to rescue the nations from a new and devastating war and to build a world without arms and without wars, a world of good will and peaceful collaboration among free and sovereign nations. The Romanian people regard it as the duty of all states, governments, parliaments, politicians and the broad circles of public opinion to take full cognizance of their historical responsibility and to make every effort to meet the legitimate expectations of the

peoples everywhere. Romania's foreign policy is based on the idea that now more than ever it is the duty of the advanced social forces, as bearers of historical progress and representatives of the true interests of the peoples, to act in unison and to rally around them all men of good will in the great battle for democratic reorganization of international relations and for the salvation and consolidation of the general peace. In pointing out the essential identity of the idea of socialism and the idea of peace, Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We proceed from the fact that freeing mankind from the danger of wars and building a world of peace and good will among peoples have always been the supreme goals of the working class, the socialist movement and the communists. Now more than ever it is the responsibility of the forces of socialism, the working class and the militant revolutionaries everywhere to do all they can to achieve this vital aim, thus accomplishing their noble historical mission of securing the construction of a world without exploitation or oppression, a world of peace, friendship and equality among all peoples."

140
20: 100

ISLAMIC PAPER DISPUTES SERIES ON MOSLEM WARTIME ACTIONS

Sarajevo PREPOROD in Serbo-Croatian No 18, 15-30 Sep 79 p 1

[Article by H. Nelmarlija: "'A Trifle'"]

[Text] In early August Dervis Susic began to publish a series entitled "Parergon" in OSLOBODJENJE. (According to B. Klajic's Veli Rjecnik Stranih Riječi [Large Dictionary of Foreign Words], "parergon" means something incidental, a trifle, a minor and incidental work of a writer.) As the subtitle states, the series consists of "excerpts from an unpublished book of literary-documentary notes about Tal," the hero of Susic's still unpublished novel, and they are concerned with certain events "from the Saint Vitus's Day Constitution to Pavelic's cabinet," or, more accurately, with characters from Moslem petit-bourgeois structures and from the leadership of the Islamic clergy and the Islamic Community of that period. By referring to it as a "parergon" and to its contents as "literary-documentary notes," Susic has used a title and subtitle which disclaim any strict historiographic responsibility and any full-fledged commitment to history, and, on the basis of the installments published so far, the series was written in that spirit. Undefined in its form and without any very firm internal principle to bind the material together, it is neither the usual documentary-historical account, nor a scholarly treatise, nor yet a free literary transposition of a time that was filled to the bursting with a great variety of events and grave troubles for Moslems and all our peoples. Its content is actually a mixture of various "documents" and the author's assumptions, impressions and generalizing interpretations and evaluations of certain events and figures from the period of the Saint Vitus's Day Constitution and earlier up to Pavelic's cabinet and thereafter.

The very publication of "Parergon," however, was heralded in a way that probably no other piece in OSLOBODJENJE has ever been announced. Aside from several thumping announcements of the eye-catching variety in OSLOBODJENJE itself, Susic's series was advertised over TV and Radio Sarajevo and in other newspapers. It is quite understandable that these unheard-of announcements and resounding advertisements aroused the broadest interest in the contents of "Parergon" even before its publication began and im-

parted to it a significance which at the very first glance is difficult to square with the way it is defined in the title and supposed significance it suggests. However, at present, while "Parergon" is still being published, it obviously is not possible to deal in any complete way with the author's accounts, interpretations and assessments of people and events from the time he is talking about. For that reason the issue of their importance, soundness and purport is one which can be properly resolved only when the entire text of Susic's series has been published. And that is a task of course for those whose duty and responsibility it is to resolve it -- not only because of the importance of "Parergon" which advertising has imposed. Nevertheless, there are several urgent reasons even now for something to be said in this place at least in passing about Susic's series in OSLOBODJENJE.

In the very first installment of the series one thing which Susic did was to take an expressly political approach both to individual Moslem bourgeois politicians and also to figures in the leadership of the Islamic Community and the Islamic clergy in the period between the wars and the war years. Having crammed them into the same bag, he also issued a drumhead verdict that they were all plunderers and traitors to their own people. In the later installments he extends this judgment of the religious leaders of the Moslems all the way back to the Turkish era (vakat), and, making a sole exception for Dzemaludin Causevic, he minces no words in going on to say that none of these people had even elementary intelligence. If we are to believe "Parergon," we find that the religious leaders and respected figures of the Moslems in these parts have even since Turkish times been fools, thieves and traitors to the Moslem people, and our Islamic past has been nothing other than a realm of darkness and stupidity. By the very logic of this assessment nothing else can follow than that these religious people were altogether incapable of acts which would have constructive moral and human importance, which is why, for Susic, to attribute importance to the El-Hidaja Resolution, for example, in which representatives of the Islamic clergy raised their voices against the Ustasha atrocities, is nothing more than chauvinism.

It is not difficult of course to imagine what assessments of this kind generally do and can signify. Many officers and members of the Islamic Community have from various quarters begun to appeal to the organs and figures of the Islamic Community and the Islamic press for condemnation of this kind of writing and for opposition to it. Many have even protested and are now protesting as though Dervis Susic has been publishing his annihilation of the Islamic past of the Moslems with the blessing of the Islamic Community. And there have been a great number who have simply asked for the organs of the Islamic Community and Islamic press to answer the questions: what are Susic's condemnations aimed at? Who needs them? and who is behind them?

Without entering, then, into details not into those parts of the series which are a task for scholarly analyses and verification on a plane which is neither proper to nor required of the Islamic Community, but pledging to have perhaps a few words to say about the assertions and judgments we have even now had to let pass until "Parergon" is published in its entirety, it appears that on this occasion there is nothing else that can be said except to ask the question: What is the real purpose of this?

BRIEFS

MEETING WITH ISLAMIC LEADERS--Vice president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Macedonia and president of the Republic Commission for Relations with the Religious Communities, Goga Nikolovski, received the president of the Supreme Authority of the Islamic Community in Yugoslavia, Reis ul-Ulema Hadzi Haim effendi Hadzi Abdic and Hadzi Bedri effendi Hamid, president of the Authority of the Islamic Community of Macedonia, and their associates. During the conversation thoughts were exchanged concerning the relations between the socialist community and the Islamic religious community. It was decided that these relations are developing in the spirit of the Constitution and the Law on the Legal Status of the Religious Communities. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 3 Oct 79 p 6]

CSO: 2800

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

24 Oct '79
MAK